Winds of Change in the Senate *John Finney*

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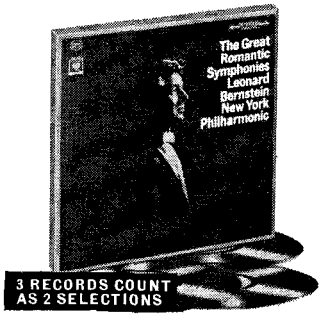
7158-7159. Mahler: Symphony No. 10; Das Lied Von Der Erde
Ormandy conducts the premiere recording of this recently completed symphony; Lili Chookasian, Richard Lewis are soloists in "Das Lied"



2911-2912. Bernstein Conducts Great Romantic Symphonies
Franck's Symphony in D Minor; Dvorak's "New World" Symphony; Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony; Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony

5853-5854. I Can Hear It Now
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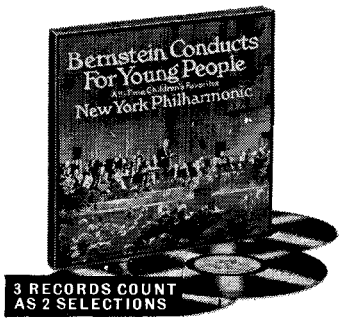

6780-6781. Bernstein Conducts For Young People
Peter and the Wolf; Night on Bald Mountain; Carnival of the Animals; The Sorcerer's Apprentice; Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks; 3 more

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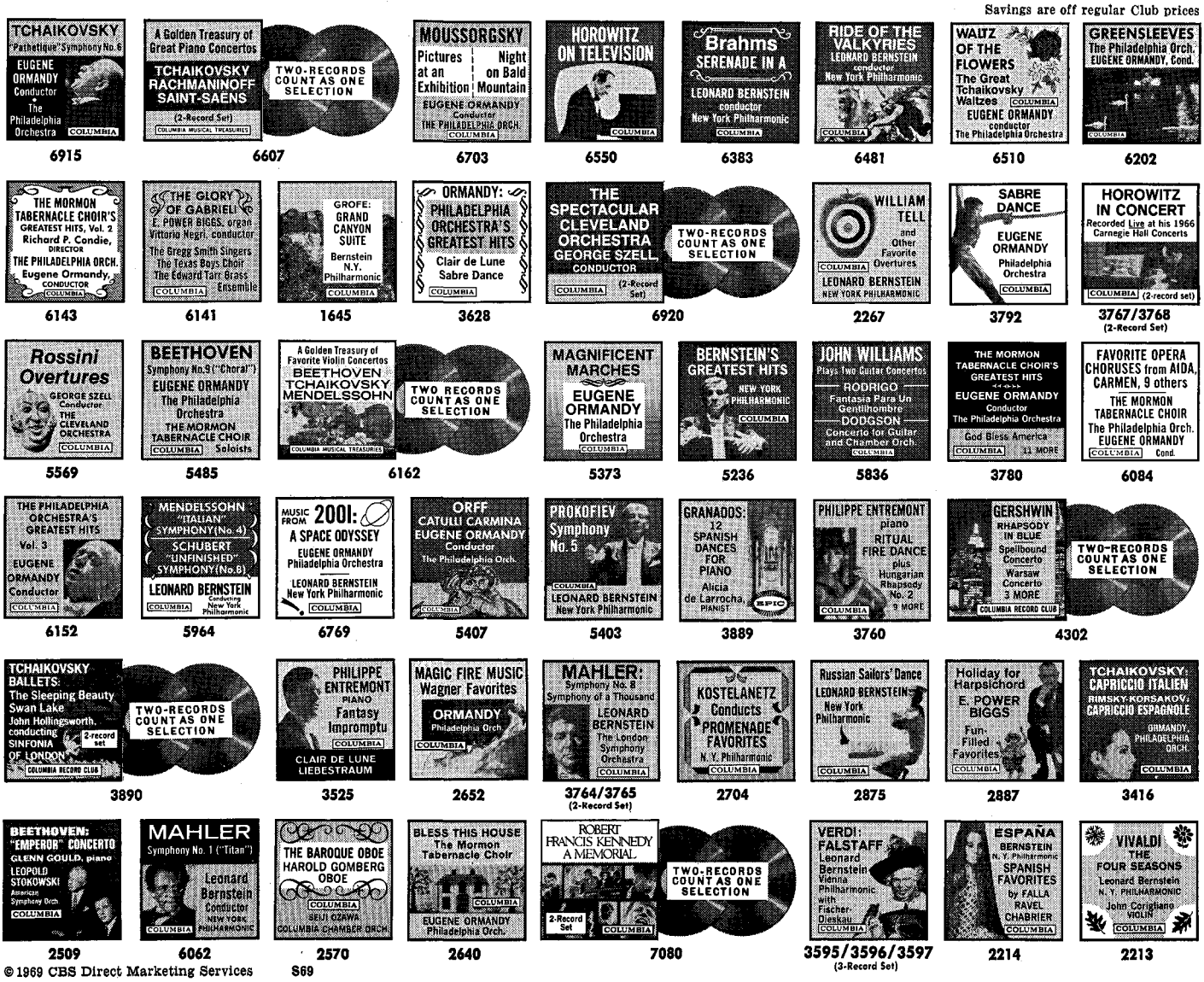
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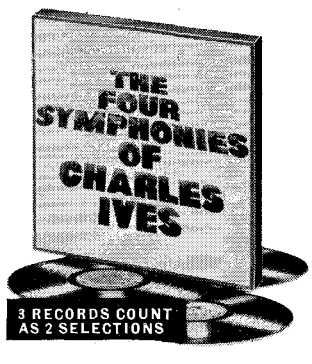
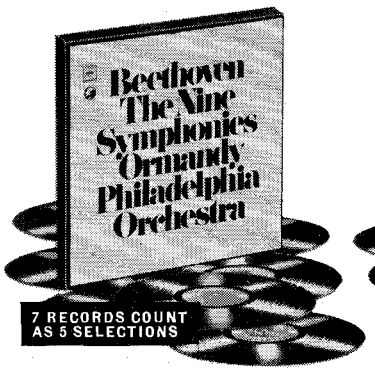
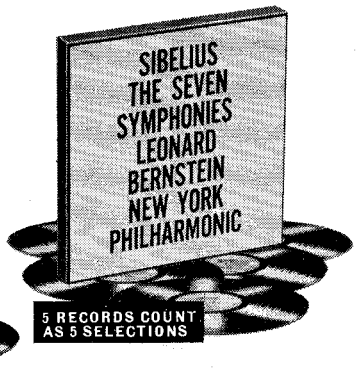


6841-6842. Charles Ives: The Four Symphonies
Three of the finest conductors of our time – Bernstein, Stokowski, Ormandy – in masterful performances of these truly revolutionary works



2919-2920-2921-2922-2923. Beethoven's Nine Symphonies
Eugene Ormandy and the world-famous Philadelphia Orchestra capture all the drama, lyricism, beauty and excitement of these great symphonies



6880-6881-6882-6883-6884. Sibelius: The Seven Symphonies
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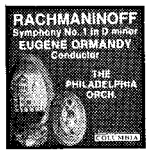

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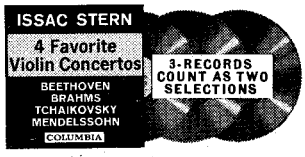

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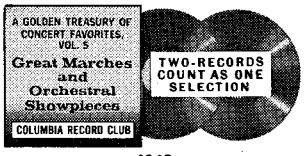
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Their voices—often in conflict—bring us the free flow of information and opinion that is one of the major reasons we can call ourselves a free society.

Though a lot of April's happenings are unpredictable, here are some programs of special interest you can count on.

First Tuesday. Reports on New York policeman on his beat; rock 'n' roll; reducing farm. Tuesday, April 1 (9-11 pm).

Arsenic and Old Lace. New adaptation of the fey comedy classic starring Helen Hayes, Robert Crane, Lillian Gish, Fred Gwynne and Sue Lyon. Wednesday, April 2 (9-11 pm).

Discovery. The Declaration of Independence; The Constitution; Spanish California; San Francisco. Sundays, April 6, 13, 20, 27 (11:30-12 Noon).

Hand in Hand. Children's Film Festival—The friendship between a Jewish girl and a Catholic boy. Sunday, April 6 (1-2:30 pm).

NBC Experiment in Television. Pinter People; Bye, Bye Butterfly; Big Sur. Sundays, April 6, 13, 20 (4:30-5:30 pm).
Fellini: A Director's Notebook. Friday, April 11 (10-11 pm).

The 21st Century. Circle of Love; Eye in the Sky; Aviation; Surface Transportation. Sundays, April 6, 13, 20, 27 (6-6:30 pm).

The Secret of Michelangelo: Every Man's Dream. Michelangelo's frescoes in the Vatican's Sistine Chapel. Sunday, April 6 (7-8 pm).

The Ship That Wouldn't Die. NBC Special Projects—World War II story of heroism at sea. Sunday, April 6 (10-11 pm).

Cosmopolis: Big City 2000 A.D. The work and thinking of architects and urban planners. Friday, April 11 (10-11 pm).

Charlie Brown's All-Stars. The "Peanuts" gang's 999th straight loss. Sunday, April 13 (7:30-8 pm).

Academy Awards. The 41st annual motion picture Oscars. Monday, April 14 (10-conclusion).

Polynesian Adventure. National Geographic Society Special—A New Jersey family lives for a year in Polynesia. Tuesday, April 15 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Broadway '69—The Tony Awards. Saluting achievements in the New York theatre's 1968-69 season. Sunday, April 20 (10-11:30 pm).

Babar the Elephant. Peter Ustinov narrates animated musical based on the famous children's books. Monday, April 21 (7:30-8 pm).

Spoon River. The Edgar Lee Masters classic starring Jason Robards, Charles Aidman, Joyce Van Patten, Jennifer West. Monday, April 21 (10-11 pm).

White Paper. The Ordeal of the American City—Part III. Tuesday, April 22 (7:30-9 pm).

The Japanese. CBS News Special—Honorable Edwin Reischauer, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, takes viewers on tour of Nippon. Wednesday, April 23 (10-11 pm).

Meet George Washington. Project 20—Documentary revealing the real man behind the schoolbook myths. Thursday, April 24 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Regularly Scheduled Programs
Monday through Friday: The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo/Sunrise Semester

Tuesday: First Tuesday/CBS News Hour

Saturdays: The Banana Splits Adventure Hour/Storybook Squares/Untamed World/ABC's Wide World of Sports

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up And Live/Bullwinkle/Camera Three/Discovery/Directions/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Issues and Answers/Frontiers of Faith/The Killy Style/Frank McGee Sunday Report/G-E College Bowl/The 21st Century/Wild Kingdom/Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color.

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings: check also for noteworthy local programs.

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Taxes, Tra, la, la

What is nicer than to look out at the nodding daffodil and hear the robin sing while working on an April income tax! "Now the woods are in leaf," sang Vergil, "now the year is in its greatest beauty." Now Form 1040 beckons! Who has not felt the challenge of subtracting line 11a from line 9; who has not wondered if he couldn't squeeze out a little more exemption from "professional entertainment"? This year the puckish government has added a refreshing novelty: "If line 12a is less than $734 find surcharge from tables on page 10. . . ." And there are other pleasures: lick your lips at the thought that about six months from now one of those jolly fellows from the Internal Revenue Service may ring you up and ask for closer acquaintance. How did Shakespeare put it? – "Springtime; the only pretty bring time."

Mortimer Caplin, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue declared last month, "The American fulfills his obligations of citizenship with integrity, a deep sense of patriotic duty and a better will than taxpayers anywhere else in the world."

Well, perhaps that is putting it a trifle strong. But the spectacle fills us with awe, nevertheless. This vernal rite of self-immolation, grudgingly but obediently performed, is part of democracy. There will be about 75 million individual returns this year with about $69 billion for the Bureau of Internal Revenue to shake out of the envelopes. Not an operation to be joked about.

And that, we think, is why equitable taxation is terribly important. The whole voluntary payment system is built on a grumbling belief in its essential fairness. And yet it *isn't* fair. Knowledge of the loopholes, of the millionaires who pay no tax, is seeping out. It requires a very naive person nowadays to believe that the supposed upper brackets of the graduated income tax are the operative brackets. Preferential treatment is rife.

Some 2.5 million people whose incomes fall below the government's "poverty line" paid $100 million income taxes – at a rate of 14 percent. But the 22 largest US oil companies with a combined gross profit of $5.2 billion paid only at a four percent rate. They had depletion and various other juicy loopholes.

Do you believe in income tax reform? Mortimer Caplin said, very gravely, that he foresees "a weakening of compliance" with the nation's tax laws if something isn't done quick to restore confidence in our deteriorating system.

Federal taxes could be used to better advantage, one would think, in the poverty areas currently being explored by the Senate subcommittee under George McGovern (D, S.C.). Migrants are used to harvest the crops in Collier County, Fla. Camp conditions are bestial. Forty-one out of every 1,000 infants in the county die before they are one year old – an incredible rate. For the nation the rate is 6.5. The migrants are human rejects in the community. The county commissioners refuse to take part in federal food stamp and commodity programs for the poor; the crop season is only four months and they fear that if things are made too comfortable for the pariah migrants they will settle down, become residents. Testified one commissioner – the migrants "are federal people . . . not Immokalee people. Not Collier people; they're not Florida people."

The local congressman, Paul Rogers (D), sets the mood for the place; he rode in a car with stickers: "I fight poverty. I work." The assumption is that the "federal people" won't work unless hungry.

Rogers angrily accompanied the visiting senators. In one shack he pointed out to reporters an old TV set. The house had one room, a barn-type door, a privy, no water, and got its electricity from an extension cord to the house next door.

"We've got to teach them how to handle their money," Rogers explained. The "federal people" don't get rich handling their money. A family earning perhaps $50 a week at stoop labor lives in conditions found at Brown's Camp for Mexican-Americans. They pay $15 a week rent for a heatless 8-by-10 shack, plus $5 for electricity – the latter consisting of one light. The children eat "beans and coffee," "grits and coffee," "beans and coffee."

McGovern, who is taking his bipartisan hunger-searchers to other areas, including city slums, found intolerable conditions. They were recorded by reporters and television crews. It is hard to deny what is seen and photographed. Yet Herbert Klein, Mr. Nixon's Director of Communications, denounced the exposure as "political." Hunger isn't "going to be solved," Klein sniffed, "by traipsing around the country with television cameras."

Who Owns the US?

Against this poverty juxtapose another aspect of US life. It is taken from "Studies by the Staff of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability" (Govt. Printing Office; 156 pp; Jan. 1969; $1). It says "America is in the midst of an enormous merger movement." And it gives figures that, I admit, astonished me. If you were to guess the proportion of the *entire* assets of all US manufacturing corporations (plant, tools, inventory, everything) which the 100 largest US companies own, what would you say? Well, the answer is 47.6 percent. That's just under half. And they are gobbling up other companies at a fast rate.

The big companies are interlocked by directorates though not with direct competitors. General Motors is interlocked with 63; US Steel with 89 (combined assets – $100 billion). And now there's a new push toward centralized decision making – bank trust departments are growing fast; in 1967 they managed investments with market value of $250 billion, two-thirds invested in stocks.

A five percent holding gives a bank a strong potential for influencing management. In 1967 Morgan Guaranty (NY) held five percent or more of 270 companies, and had interlocking directorates with 233 companies. There's centralized power for you! Even the Justice Department has finally begun to worry about so-called conglomerate mergers. What a long way it all is from that miserable family with one light bulb in Collier County.

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The ABM: Who Needs It?

"The question which has not been answered satisfactorily by the Department of Defense," Senator John Sherman Cooper points out, "remains the same. Is there any serious threat to the security of the United States or to the credibility of our nuclear deterrent from existing forces of the Soviet Union or Communist China or from the development of new nuclear weapons, or from research and development? Is there any credible intelligence of imminent danger or such increased danger – information that has not yet been made public, that it is now imperative that the United States commences deployment of a new system of nuclear weapons with the possible consequence of a new and higher level of the nuclear arms race?"

The original justification for an anti-ballistic missile system, set forth by Secretary McNamara, was that our national security is threatened by the progress of Communist China in nuclear technology. "Is there any possibility," Mr. McNamara asked, "that by the mid-1970's China might become so incautious as to attempt a nuclear attack on the US or our allies?" There were, he thought, "marginal grounds for concluding that a light deployment of US ABM's against this possibility is prudent." It would be "Chinese-oriented" and designed to protect our cities. That plan was scrapped by President Nixon. There is, he said, no feasible way of protecting our urban population from a nuclear strike. Within the past 10 days, the China threat has dropped completely out of the discussion. The last heard of it was from the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense, Mr. Packard, who said on television March 16, that we must have an ABM system because of a possible emerging Chinese ICBM capability. Mr. Packard was questioned on this point by Senator Symington on March 21. "It was thought at one point in the studies," Mr. Packard replied, "that possibly the Chinese threat was a serious matter. I went back and looked at the data, and the Chinese threat is not much further along today than it was three years ago. I looked again at the data on the emerging Soviet threat, and I came to the conclusion that the deployment which we are now recommending is the appropriate one in response to the best interpretation I can now give to the facts."

So it is the more familiar Russian menace that requires an ABM system, not the Chinese. "Suddenly," Senator Fulbright comments, "the Russians are becoming eight-feet tall and are about to over-

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whelm us." How tall is eight feet? Is there a Soviet offensive buildup which threatens our capacity to hit back very hard, if the US is struck first by Soviet missiles?

To begin with, consider what the United States has in its arsenal with which to deter an aggressor, or retaliate in the event of a surprise attack. Our source is Harold Brown, former Secretary of the Air Force and a man who has not been identified with opposition to ABM deployment. In an article, "Security Through Limitations," published in the April, 1969, *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Brown writes: "At the present time, the United States has an excellent capacity to deter. Our retaliatory forces are so well protected that anyone seeking a first-strike would need many more weapons than we maintain. Our measures for survival include warning radars, interceptor aircraft, hardened missile silos, dispersed Polaris submarines, and the alert status of our bombers. If the Soviets should attack today, they would expend their weapons without disarming ours. We would be left with relatively stronger forces and our society would suffer less damage than we could inflict in return. The Soviet missile force is not accurate enough, nor has it enough reentry vehicles to attack our landbased missiles effectively; Soviet anti-submarine forces are not good enough to destroy any of our Polaris submarines; and our alert bombers have enough warning to escape destruction on the ground. Soviet air defenses are large, but not effective enough to deal with our alert bombers *[we have about 1,000 warheads that can be carried by bombers – The Editors]* and the Soviet's anti-missile system has as yet so few interceptors that even if each one were to kill a US missile, the overall effect would be small.

"The ABM would improve our bargaining position with Russia. . . ."

"We have striven to avoid any gap in our defenses that would permit even a single element of our forces to be largely destroyed before it could be launched. Even as the Soviets developed a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System (FOBS) that could bypass our older warning systems because it has a low trajectory, we quickly deployed over-the-horizon radars, previously developed that could detect a FOBS launch and provide adequate warning. As the Soviets have increased the number and effectiveness of their missiles, we have begun development of 'harder silos' that can withstand much closer nuclear explosions. . . . In addition to protecting against destruction of our weapons before launch, we have improved our offensive systems so that our surviving warheads would not be neutralized by improved Soviet defenses. As the Soviets have installed their Anti-Ballistic System (ABM), we have added penetration aids and are developing multiple warheads *[on which the US began working five years ago, and which multiply our offensive capability by something like a factor of 10 – The Editors]*. As the Soviets have worked on more effective air defenses, we have begun development of the SRAM air-to-surface missile, and we have continued preliminary work on the aircraft technology needed for a new heavy bomber, and on penetration aids suitable for both current and future bombers. . . . At the present time the strategic forces of both sides are roughly comparable in the sense that both can deter attack and neither side can launch an overwhelming first-strike. Both sides have an adequate second-strike capability."

To this awesome inventory, Senator Gore adds our "7,000 tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, and still another number of nuclear weapons – which I cannot cite – at other foreign bases."

Secretary Laird has not disputed this reading of American power. "We have the capability as of today," he has told Senator Fulbright. Mr. Laird is concerned, however, "about the time period of the 1975's . . . because of the developments that are taking place within the Soviet Union, and because of the increase in the budget for military weapons in the Soviet Union." Specifically, he refers to SS-9 Soviet missiles, 500 of which Mr. Laird thinks *might* be deployed by 1975. The SS-9 is a large rocket, comparable to our Titan-2. Last year, the Pentagon classified it as a 5- to 10-megaton weapon. Secretary Laird has upped the estimate – 20 to 25 megatons. The SS-9 has been around for about three years; it is the only weapon the Russians

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have that could carry individually targeted multiple warheads (MIRV). What Mr. Laird seems to have in mind is the possibility, no more than that, that the Russians may "MIRV" these SS-9 rockets, so that each would carry four or five warheads. Assuming that is done and assuming the accuracy of the SS-9's (undemonstrated) and assuming also no malfunctions, the Soviet Union could still not be confident of destroying our missiles in a surprise attack; and in any such attack there is very little margin for error. Alongside Secretary Laird's projection of possible Soviet capabilities, moreover, must be placed the fact that we have been moving to "MIRV" our own missiles (both Minutemen and Poseidan) so as to multiply *their* striking force nearly four times. This means the US will have available, if we do not have now, roughly 5,500 warheads. If only 200 of them got through, the Soviet Union would be wiped out as an industrial power and would lose more than 50 million people!

One can debate from here to eternity what numbers suffice to deter, or, with the failure of deterrence, are needed to inflict "unacceptable damage" in a second strike. And one can speculate endlessly on Russian reactions to the multiplication of our warheads. Finally, however, some commonsensical judgments must be made about probabilities. Warnings such as Secretary Laird's of what some Soviet government might do some day are beyond any objective measurement. Almost anything *is* possible. But fears that border on fantasies are no sound basis for a calculation of security needs.

Furthermore, if Secretary Laird's forebodings do derive from hardheaded estimates of Soviet intentions and future capabilities, is it not curious that the Administration proposes to limit ABM deployment to two missile sites, in North Dakota and Montana? What of the rest? Are they expendable? Can we lose them and still inflict massive retaliation on an attacking enemy? Or are the two missile sites just a come-on, a foot in the door leading to more? That inference has been rejected by the Administration. Then, why, Senator Mansfield asks, is the military asking for funds to purchase not 2 sites for ABM emplacements, but 12? In addition, if the threat to our security by 1975 is as grave as Secretary Laird says it is, how does one explain the fact that in the defense budget he and President Nixon submitted to the Congress about 10 days ago, there is a slowdown by about a year of our whole nuclear arms development? It is encouraging that this slowdown can be recommended, but how can it be squared with the alarms being sounded as justification for deployment of an ABM system?

We have not mentioned a final argument advanced by the proponents of ABM. It is that by making this decision now, we increase our bargaining power with the Soviets, when and if the two powers sit down to negotiate some kind of control of offensive weapons. As we have noted before, the argument is not persuasive. We are way ahead of the Russians; we can now "negotiate from strength." It would be more appropriate to think of adding to our stockpile of defensive or offensive weapons if talks fail – not before they start. Nor does it strengthen the argument for ABM deployment to argue that Soviet silence on Mr. Nixon's proposal shows that the Russians don't mind if we deploy ABM's, and that, therefore, we risk no escalation of the arms race. If the system means nothing to the Soviets, if it does not alarm them, why do we need it? If the Russians do intend, as Secretary Laird fears they do, to build an offensive force capable of knocking out our missiles, and thus robbing us of a second-strike capability, one would think that they would react quite sharply and adversely to any plan for "safeguarding" our missile sites. If they don't care, does this not tell us something of Soviet intentions?

The Senate should withhold consent by denying appropriations for an ABM system. It is unnecessary; it could be dangerous. In this debate, the defenders of the Administration start with an enormous advantage. High officials make headlines more often and more easily than do their lower-order critics. For one minute of national TV time allowed Senator Fulbright or Gore or McGovern or Javits, Administration spokesmen, led by the President, can command at least 10. The Administration has at its disposal a large bureaucracy that can be put to the task of research, that can grind out press releases, arrange confidential briefings, supply background position papers. It will take informed, determined leadership within the Senate (one may as well forget the House), backed by a resolute public, to stop this foolishness.

Parroty

Is it too late for the President to deter Senators Fulbright, Gore, Kennedy, McGovern, Symington, Javits, Hatfield, Nelson, Cooper, Case, etc., rather than putting their second-strike capabilities to the test? He could still opt for a tactical if not strategic retreat on ABM, thereby diminishing the risk of Assured Destruction and the erosion of his credibility. Mr. Nixon has deployed his decoys (Laird, Packard, Wheeler), but retaliatory forces are operational too; the capacity of his adversaries' counterforce to penetrate Administration defenses is hardening as debate goes on; it may yet inflict unacceptable damage to the President's posture. That would be degrading, as well as destabilizing. If, however, Mr. Nixon were to re-target, change the mix, and by withdrawing his "thin" system pre-empt the peace offensive, would he not secure incremental (if not thick) protection against third strikes, thus keeping himself at bat?

Many thinking people are asking these questions.

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Intelligence and Race

One of the striking things about debates on public policy today, in contrast to the Kennedy and early Johnson eras, is the falling stock of the social sciences. In quite different ideological circles there is a conviction that social science has not proven to be very good at suggesting the answers necessary for framing public policy, and that its data, while useful, are no substitute for political and moral judgment. Partly this stems from the war, in the planning of which so many mandarins were eager to help. But it goes farther than the war. In discussions of education and poverty, the suspicion grows that not all that much light can shine from the academies. People have been paid good money to study the poor, many have prowled the slums with their clipboards, tape recorders, and questionnaires. The studies have piled up like government surplus grain. But things haven't changed for the poor; they are getting worse. One imagines learned sophists in the Rome of the Gracchi – receiving consultant fees and reading papers to conventions on the causes of the unrest among the poor just before the civil wars broke out that finally destroyed the Republic.

What brings this cruel simile to mind is the debate arising from a very long article on heredity and IQ in this spring's *Harvard Educational Review*. Using statistical evidence on IQ test scores – not genetic data – Arthur R. Jensen argues that heredity counts for much more than most educators have been willing to concede. His estimate is that it counts for about 80 percent of the variations on IQ test scores, and that environment counts for about 20 percent. He doesn't prove anything about intelligence in general, but he does amass suggestive evidence that something about IQ scores – whatever it is they measure – is hereditary in some large part. (His most solid evidence comes from a handful of studies of fairly small groups of identical twins separated and raised by foster parents. These twins, who have identical genes, tend to have the same IQ's, even though raised apart.)

This is another interesting round in what one suspects will be an endless debate on nature vs. nurture. As they say, it deserves further study. But the part of the article that has alarmed many people is the hypothesis that black Americans are born with less intelligence – as measured by IQ tests – than whites. It is a fact that blacks score some 15 points less on the average than whites. What the fact means is something else again. Jensen's notion is that there may be genetic differences between the races that produce different learning patterns – and that blacks may have different patterns of skills than those involved in doing the kind of abstract reasoning tested by IQ tests. (The evidence on this last is pretty skimpy.)

Jensen makes some concessions to the environmentalists: he grants that extreme deprivation can make a difference – that it can keep a child from performing on the IQ tests up to his genetic potential. He also believes that the proper environment can greatly improve classroom or job performance, without altering IQ. He also admits the evidence that good prenatal and obstetrical care, and sound nutrition – all of which poor blacks in this country are deprived of – make a big difference. But his general argument is uncompromising.

He will undoubtedly be challenged on many points. One would hope to see an exploration of his faith that IQ scores mean anything. This would involve further scrutiny of their well-known class biases, and perhaps scrutiny of the racial biases of those who administer them. The hypothesis that simply being black in this culture constitutes severe deprivation should be examined. And there is still plenty of work to do on estimating just how fixed IQ really is. There is, come to think of it, a need to ascertain just how fixed any of the supposedly hereditary traits is. Jensen must explain why IQ test scores keep getting higher for each new generation of Americans – most scholars have assumed that this was a matter of environment, not genes. (Black scores are now at the point where the nation as a whole was scoring in 1917.) There is the question Walter Lippmann raised in this journal over 40 years ago: "How does it happen that men of science can presume to dogmatize about the mental qualities of germplasm when their own observations begin at four years of age?" Until a link is actually shown between genes and psychological processes, skepticism must be expected to reign. It may prove true in the end that some differences in the genes of the races may account for some different traits, but the idea, apart from being totally unproven, is open to the most serious racist abuses. We will have to demand specific proof. And it is unlikely that we will ever know enough about differences in the races to prescribe separate programs for each, which is what Jensen seems to be proposing.

Embedded in all this are some good points, not necessarily related to speculative issues of race and heredity. One is Jensen's criticisms of compensatory programs. The other is his attack on IQ tests and systems of education that rely on them. In many ways this curious article is an effective critique of the reliance on IQ tests. Jensen points out that they tap only one part of the spectrum of human abilities; they are not a sound basis for making educational decisions about children. Whatever their validity in the mass, they are useless at the level of individual cases, and their margins of error in a single classroom or even a single school are frightening.

But for the rest, the article is strangely remote from the world of schools, kids, and teachers. Even if it were true, of what use would it be for a teacher to

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know that only 20 percent of the IQ of the population she is dealing with is subject to environmental influence? She is not or should not be dealing with a population; she is not working with IQ, whatever that is. She is teaching students, and she will succeed to the extent that she reaches them as individuals. Jensen's message is bound to be twisted into racist dogma, but in the schools its probable effect will be to reinforce a characteristic failing: the deep, unstated conviction that some kinds of kids are uneducable.

More and more we can order and sift masses of data about human beings, but there is no commensurate growth in our ability to treat them as individuals. The kinds of statistics Jensen relies on will always end up showing that under ordinary conditions, most teachers will only succeed with the kids of the proper IQ and social class. But measuring is a static activity. Children don't get any heavier by being weighed. Ordinary schools don't do enough to offset the grim lessons society teaches the children of the black and the poor. Only very good schools succeed. There are a few in most cities, just as there are some good teachers in most slum schools. They don't have a single technique; they do all kinds of things. The problem is how to create more like them. Like good teaching, it can't be a mass matter. We won't learn how to do it through more and more statistical manipulation of relatively crude and undigested data. The most likely use for Mr. Jensen's data is as a source of slogans for the prophets of the New Despair.

A Way to Tax Oil

The Administration wants tax reform, but concedes any change to lighten the load on lower- and middle-income payers is far off. Boosting the 20-year-old $600 personal exemption, for example, would cost the government too much revenue (never mind the equity), and the White House needs all the tax money it can muster so long as Vietnam continues, and perhaps after that too. Certainly no tinkering is being considered for the granddaddy of all inequities, the 27 1/2 percent oil depletion allowance that was voted 43 years ago. This is a tax break given petroleum operators since 1926 on grounds it encourages needy exploration – a philosophy that comes in for persistent but futile criticism and a concession that permits oil firms to duck about $1 1/4 billion worth of taxes annually. Rep. John W. Byrnes, the number one Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, recently said the depletion allowance had enabled Atlantic Refining (now part of Atlantic-Richfield-Sinclair) to earn $410 million in 1962-67 but escape all federal income tax. Rep. Henry Reuss (D., Wis.) pointed out that in 1966 the nation's largest oil companies paid a tiny percentage of their profits in federal taxes: Standard of New Jersey, 1.7 percent; Texaco, 0.8 percent; Gulf, 8.6 percent; Mobil, 5.9 percent, Standard of California, 2.1 percent.

No matter. In Ways and Means testimony a dozen witnesses defended the oil tax preference as vital to their industry and the nation ("an economic lifeline," one man called the allowance). No one came out flatly for an even bigger tax break, but the witnesses were almost unanimous in contending the present benefits are inadequate. Mr. Nixon is on record as opposing any tickering with the 27 1/2 percent figure.

Yet the President has a unique opportunity to force the oil industry to pay a mite more tax and at the same time set future guidelines for oil drilling. All he need do is to tell his Treasury Secretary, David M. Kennedy, to put into final order a set of mineral depletion rules proposed in the waning months of the Johnson Administration. At first, LBJ went along with the idea, even while the trade press was castigating the suggested changes and describing the then President as a man "who supped at oil's table for three decades." In the end, Johnson left the proposals dangling.

There are two important parts to the proposed regulations: first, Internal Revenue would change the way an oil operator deducts certain selling costs. The result would be, by official Internal Revenue estimate, that the industry would pay $100 million more in taxes each year. This is peanuts compared to the overall annual tax savings, yet the industry continues to battle the proposals "paragraph by paragraph, sentence by sentence" – to use the words of one career lawyer in Treasury. Second, Internal Revenue proposes to set a depletion tax-break figure for two new kinds of oil drilling operations, not at 27 1/2 percent but at 15 percent. The techniques involved are drilling in tar sands and in shale. It's estimated that tar sands in Canada and the US hold enough oil to supply the nation's liquid fuel needs for at least 75 years. Ditto for shale lands in Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. Since most experts agree these two techniques represent a new frontier for the industry, it's easy to see that billions of dollars in taxes or tax savings are involved in this struggle over the proposed rules.

Drilling for oil in tar sands has begun. A Sun Oil-owned firm, Great Canadian Oil Sands Ltd., is active around Lake Athabasgo, Canada. Ready to get started there are Syncrude Canada Ltd, owned by Standard of New Jersey, Atlantic-Richfield-Sinclair, Citgo (each with 30 percent) and Gulf (10 percent). Drilling for oil in shale has been a gleam in the industry's eyes for years, and corporations and the Interior Department both have dabbled with ways to do it economically. Some cynics think that if the shale tax

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break were fixed at 27½ percent, oil firms would "suddenly" discover ways to get through the shale. Internal Revenue contends that drilling in tar sands and shale actually involves extracting hard mineral from the ground and then separating out the oil later. Traditionally, hard minerals command lower tax breaks than straight-out oil drilling. Coal is tagged with a 10 percent depletion allowance, for example – a situation that leads some coal men to contend they compete with a government-subsidized rival, oil. Sand and gravel have a five percent allowance. The oil industry, naturally, contends drilling in tar sands and shale is drilling for oil, and thus worth a 27½ percent preference.

During the Ways and Means testimony on the oil tax situation, only one witness overtly protested the proposed rules changes. He was a vice president in the oil department at Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co., Chicago, the former chairman of which is Mr. Nixon's Secretary of the Treasury.

The NR Reader

About all that magazines have to go by, if they're curious about their readers, are letters to the editor (usually angry), circulation studies (median age of *NR* subscribers, 34; 83 percent college graduates; postgraduate degrees, 49 percent), stray comments, or a very occasional survey such as a recent one in which *The New Republic* asked a sample of its subscribers what they thought. The results are not all in, but we've seen enough to see a pattern.

The composite *NR* reader is not happy with the Democratic Party (only 5.2 percent think it is now an effective vehicle for needed reform) but believes it could be made to work for change by 1972 (94.8 per cent). Of 1,650 respondents who answered the question, 645 chose Senator Edward M. Kennedy as the best hope for future party leadership. The next four choices in descending order are Muskie (433), McCarthy (309), McGovern (165) and Humphrey (98). Whoever is elected President in 1972 should, in the composite reader's opinion, be chosen by a direct popular election, not by the electoral college (84.8 percent). Nixon's policy of encouraging private enterprise to participate in rehabilitating urban slums through liberal tax incentives doesn't inspire confidence (61.6 percent thought it would help big businesses more than ghetto residents), and 83.1 percent favor the "Heller plan" for sharing federal tax revenues with the states, but with federal strings on the use of the money (90.4 percent).

In foreign policy the reader is chary of entanglements, eager to cut back on military spending. Some 84.9 percent want to cut the $50 billion defense budget by $20 billion once Vietnam is out of the way, and should Vietnam or Thailand then ever be threatened by a Communist takeover, the reader would have the UN deal with it (79.2 percent). An overwhelming majority (91.4 percent) oppose the ABM. Respondents are generally favorable to quick recognition and trade with China (74.8 percent) and to reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba (86.3). 56.7 percent believe the US should not intervene in Latin America, economically or militarily, to prevent a seizure of power by revolutionary and anti-US forces.

The Symbolic South

The executive committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of religious, civic and racial organizations concerned with social justice, met at its request with Robert H. Finch, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in his office on March 18. The committee's purpose was to find out whether the Nixon Administration does or does not intend to enforce the laws, court orders and federal regulations that require integrated public education and to tell Secretary Finch that his own performance recently had made it a fair and serious question. In the words of Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Finch gave his "measured assurance that there would be . . . no relaxation of enforcement." But his callers were still in doubt last week.

Their reasons had to do mostly with that lately neglected aspect of civil rights enforcement, school integration in the South. Black demands for black autonomy had fostered an impression that racial integration in general and school integration in particular were fading and outmoded issues. Secretary Finch's visitors had come to warn him not to be deluded: public school integration at every level was as important to them as it had ever been and what he and his Cabinet colleague, Attorney General John N. Mitchell, proposed to do about it in the South was symbolic of what the Administration intended to do everywhere.

What the Administration was doing, it seemed to the conference committee, was encouraging resistant Southern whites to believe they had heard Richard Nixon aright last year when they understood him to be promising a more sympathetic and "reasonable" approach to school desegregation than they had experienced in the Kennedy-Johnson time. Secretary Finch had said in an interview widely quoted in the South that he was "reviewing" and felt that "we have to redraw" the strict guidelines which his department's Office of Civil Rights had been applying with the

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stated aim, subject to very few exceptions, of eliminating the last "white" and "black," Southern school systems this year. He had invited Southern politicians and school officials to bypass the Office of Civil Rights and appeal its orders directly to him and his immediate staff. Of 340 holdout, hard-core school districts that had been told last August to submit plans for compliance with the guidelines, some 220 had refused up to last week to make any move whatever toward integration. These districts obviously hoped that the Administration's continuing equivocations belied its formal assertions, also continuing, that it did intend to forbid and halt racial discrimination and separation in the schools.

Finch assured his visitors on March 18 that the guidelines stood and would be enforced as written, excepting only any changes necessary to make them applicable nationally as well as in the South. In reply to the view that he ought to say so plainly and without equivocation, he said: "What is important is not what I say but what I do." One of the visitors, Bayard Rustin, begged him to understand that much of what he had recently been saying gave hope to white resisters and undermined leaders who still urged black Americans to believe in the prospect and possibility of genuine integration. "What the Government says," Rustin told Finch, "can support us or it can destroy us." Finch remarked, quite truly, that some Negroes in the South have lost faith in integration and prefer black schools under black control. Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP's Washington representative, seemed to others present to "explode" at this. "We have our black racists and you have your white racists," he told Finch, "and surely you do not propose to let the white racists speak for you."

White racists, Southern and other, do not speak for Robert Finch and he does not speak or act for them. But he is still letting them speak to him. Last week he agreed to visit Columbia, S.C., on April 25 and hear in person the views of South Carolina legislators and school officials, among others. Senator Strom Thurmond arranged and announced the occasion.

In High Schools Too

by Paul Osterman

The same day that a hundred policemen were needed to open a high school in Plainfield, New Jersey, 600 Montgomery County, Maryland high school students presented to their Board of Education a 20-page document attacking the school system and calling for radical reform. How suburban Montgomery County responds may determine whether it becomes a Plainfield.

Last February, the Montgomery County Student Alliance published a report ("Wanted: A Humane Education") that was superior to many college protest documents. "The public schools," it said, "have critically negative and absolutely destructive effects on human beings and their curiosity, natural desire to learn, confidence, individuality, creativity, freedom of thought and self-respect." The students declared that Montgomery County schools are more interested in orderliness and discipline than in learning, that their chief concerns (other than efficiency) are "fulfilling requirements and developing attitudes that are necessary for admittance and academic success in college and success in today's society." Citing the cramping effects of grades, permanent records (remember the threat – "this will go on your permanent record!") hall passes, bathroom privileges, rigid time schedules and various other bits of nonsense, the students outlined 24 demands, including an ombudsman, student civil liberties, abolition of letter grades and student representation on the school board.

Montgomery Board chairman, William Freienmuth believes in talking it over and perhaps setting up study committees. School officials remind folks that students are going through a familiar stage of rebellion, evidenced by their dress and, by implication, their report. "Part of our job," says Mr. Freienmuth, "is to teach students to live within the law. After all, everyone has a little trouble with conformity sometime."

The teachers react in various ways. Montgomery County has two competing teachers' associations, one affiliated with the National Education Association, the other with the more militant American Federation of Teachers. At a hot meeting two weeks ago, the NEA affiliate entertained a motion to censure the Board of Education for meeting with the students. The motion was defeated, but a large faction of the 3,000-member association feels threatened by the students. Some teachers have continued to attack the report and harass Student Alliance members. The 425-member AFT affiliate endorsed the student position.

Upper Montgomery County is rural. A reaction against the students seems to be setting in. Circulars have been distributed implicating them with SDS. Angry letters have poured into county newspapers. The largest local paper, the *Advertiser*, has repeatedly attacked the students. On the other hand, some of the parents are agitating too – in support of the students.

The most emotional issue is the student request that they be permitted to distribute the Washington *Free Press*, an underground paper, in the schools. According to Mr. Freienmuth, the *Free Press* "advocates revolution and makes derogatory comments about the police and the CIA. Distribution of the paper in the schools won't go." Copies of the newspaper have been confiscated in several high schools; in one, school offi-

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cials broke into a student's locker to seize the paper.

Civil Liberties Unions across the nation have become increasingly concerned with public school students' rights and have urged school officials to allow students the same rights as adults with regard to nondisruptive, free expression and distribution of political material. The Supreme Court's recent decision in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District* upheld the right of students to wear black armbands protesting the Vietnam War. The National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union has taken up the Montgomery County case and has advised the students to bring suit against the school system.

"They are willing to hold the meetings and listen," says Norman Solomon, a student leader. "But afterwards the schools remain the same." Already, some students are attending a Free School established by a former county teacher. College protest in the early sixties, led by the National Student Association, took much the same form. Reports were written, conferences held, meetings with administrators scheduled. Nothing much changed. In a short time new leadership arose on the campuses and protest took a different and less orderly tack. Unless officials show more vision and less condescension, the same cycle will be repeated in suburban high schools.

Report from Thailand

The Future of the US Military Presence

by Alex Campbell

Bangkok

Mr. Klaew Novapati, member of parliament for Khon Kaen and the deputy leader of a mildly socialist political group in Thailand called the Economist-Unity Party, thinks that Senator Fulbright and Professor Reischauer are quite right to question the stationing of more than 50,000 American military in Thailand. As the Economist-Unity Party is only a small opposition faction, Mr. Novapati's opinion might be deemed unimportant. The reason it is of significance is that almost identical views have been expressed recently by the Thai foreign minister, Mr. Thanat Khoman, and the powerful Minister of Interior, General Prapas Charusathiara. Furthermore, the policy they seem to prefer – depending less on military forces for safety and giving more weight to raising standards of living as a means of warding off both external and internal threats – is also approved by Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, the prime minister of Laos, Mr. Souvanna Phouma, the prime minister of the Republic of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, and the president of Indonesia, General Suharto. These Southeast Asian views presumably will be given a discreet but thorough airing, when Secretary of State William P. Rogers comes here on May 20, to attend the meeting of the Council of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

The SEATO treaty was signed in Manila in September, 1954, and the United States approved it 82-1. Though the pact led step by step to large military commitments that have since become unpopular, it is mildly worded. All it ostensibly did was to commit each of the parties to "act . . . in accordance with its constitutional processes" to meet a common danger in the event of "aggression by means of armed attack." But the SEATO treaty, and perhaps the fact that Bangkok was the headquarters of the SEATO organization, got American politicians into the habit of making large supportive gestures toward Thailand. Thus Vice President Johnson on May 17, 1961, proclaimed, in Bangkok, "Nothing is more important to the United States than the security of your great country." *Nothing?* The Thais might well have smiled indulgently at the Texas-style exuberance and taken his words with a pinch of salt. In fact, they treated them with utmost seriousness, or professed to, because Thailand was then at loggerheads with China and with Cambodia and Vietnam. On February 18, 1962, the then Attorney General, the late Senator Robert Kennedy, confirmed Johnson's pledge, by declaring, also in Bangkok, "the United States is dedicated to the security of Thailand." A month later, Secretary Dean Rusk, and Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, issued a weightily-worded joint statement that was tantamount to a full military alliance between the two countries, save that the US Senate was never called on to ratify it. Two months later, in May, 1962, President Kennedy sent 4,800 American military to be stationed in Thailand. That was still not an enormous commitment, but the subsequent massive American involvement in the Vietnamese civil war changed that. Of the six American air bases in Thailand, the three major ones, at Udorn, Sakolnakorn and Nakornpanam, are in the troubled northeast. They are not used for fighting the guerrilla bands who emerge from the northeast's jungles to murder Thai government officials and informers in remote villages. The air bases were built for the purpose of bombing North Vietnam or the Ho Chi Minh trails in Laos. They could also be used for bombing China. They are closer to China than Guam is, and the closest the US has so far got to China's nuclear-weapons installations.

Possibly belated recognition that the large US military presence in their country not only provokes discontent among ordinary Thais, but is not intended to

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help the Thai government quell jungle guerrillas, has moved Thai leaders like Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman to take a less favorable view of the Americans than before. More likely, however, they have come to realize that the United States is not going to "win" the Vietnam war and that American public opinion may compel a drastic cutback in American forces in Southeast Asia, especially Thailand. The Thai government has never wished Thailand to become merely a "fallback" position for the United States, in the event of Vietnam being "lost." It did permit the United States to build air bases in Thailand, to help "win" the Vietnam war. But the battle was to be fought, and won or lost, in Vietnam, never in Thailand. As hopes of a decisive American military victory in Vietnam have faded, the Thais have shown increasing uneasiness about the implications of huge American military installations on their soil. They were also much disconcerted by the *Pueblo* incident and the way it was handled by Washington. America suffered severe loss of "face" in Bangkok and indeed in all other Asian capitals. The line that the Thais are now taking is that there is going to be a Western military withdrawal from Southeast Asia – the British have already announced they will be out by the end of 1971 – and that the Southeast Asians must fill this vacuum themselves, but not with military alliances, which have been rendered distinctly unfashionable and unpopular by the course of events over the 15 years since SEATO was signed. The watchword is "regional cohesiveness."

Mr. Thanat Khoman explained to newsmen in February that the countries of the region, including Indonesia, did not have and never could have the kind of military potential that would protect them from an armed attack by a big country like China. But, he added, if they stuck together, and kept their heads, the chances were that no Chinese armed attack would be launched against them, and when the Communists attempted subversion, the answer to *that* was to see to it that their people were too content and making too much material progress to be subverted. General Suharto of Indonesia quickly responded to this suggestion by the Thai foreign minister. The Indonesian leader told a visiting group of US publishers and businessmen, in March, that the best deterrent to any expansionist move by China was to make and keep Southeast Asia prosperous. "Indonesia," he declared, "opposes foreign military bases, and military pacts." The keynote had really been struck months before, in December 1968, by the prime minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew: "I would hope that the others around us – particularly to the north of us – don't lose their nerve. I don't believe that Thailand, for instance, can be subverted and destroyed by the same processes which have undermined South Vietnam, because I think basically they are a different type of people. They are Thais and they have a history of their own, a culture of their own. It is a culture which doesn't lend itself to guerrilla fanaticism, which is what is required for a successful guerrilla insurrection. And so, if we don't lose our nerve . . . the rest of Southeast Asia will stick and will jell, and . . . we will all cooperate and help each other flourish and prosper, and grow stronger and more secure."

In 1966, Asian countries formed an Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) whose members are Australia and New Zealand, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and South Vietnam. The following year, an Association of Southeast Asian Nations was formed (ASEAN), consisting of Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia. Hitherto, that kind of regional cooperation in Asia has been just what Lee Kuan Yew once called it – "a thinly disguised exercise in collectively soliciting aid from the wealthy nations." But now that the United States as well as Britain looks like withdrawing the bulk of its military forces from the area, the Asians may have got more serious about their own cooperation. Thus, Thailand has publicly abandoned its longstanding grievances and territorial claim against Cambodia. Mr. Thanat Khoman explained that the Thais had done this to set an example, in order to persuade other countries in Southeast Asia to forget about their feuds with one another. He almost certainly had in mind Indonesia's quarrels with Malaysia and Singapore, and the Philippines' claim to Sabah, the portion of Borneo that joined Malaysia by a popular vote.

Cambodia has never needed convincing that military alliances are not the answer to Southeast Asia's problems. The Cambodians know from their own history that emphasizing the military aspect is apt to lead to disaster. Between 700 and 1200 A.D., Cambodia was ruled by a military-theocratic complex. The god-king, or *devaraja*, imposed heavy taxes and a draft, in order to fight a series of wars. These triumphs, which provoked peasant revolts and ruined the country, are commemorated in the vast monuments of Angkor Wat. This, and his own unfortunate experiences at the hands of the United States and others, have convinced Prince Sihanouk that "it is force that governs the world, not right or justice." But he has no military strength of his own. Throughout the Vietnam war, and for the foreseeable future, Sihanouk is the man on the seesaw, striving to retain his balance. The traditional enemies of the Khmers (Cambodians) are the Thais and the North Vietnamese. One of these is an ally of the United States, the other of China and Russia. The population of Cambodia is about six million, of whom half a million are of Vietnamese descent, and over 300,000 are Chinese. Clearly, Cambodia's only hope of preserving its identity during the Vietnam war is to cling to a precarious neutrality, which in an area of fuzzy borders is sure to be violated from time to time

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by one or other belligerent. But even more unhappily for Sihanouk, for years it was American policy to frown severely on any Southeast Asian country that dared to proclaim itself neutral. Sihanouk however is not the kind of man to remain silent when criticized. He keeps the press of the world busy printing his lengthy and elegantly sarcastic letters on foreign affairs. The United States is not his only target; he has also criticized China and France. But the United States has matched Sihanouk in pique. It has virtually accused him of giving aid and comfort to the Vietcong while laughing up his sleeve at America and hypocritically claiming to be innocent. There is little doubt that Vietcong forces trespass on Cambodian territory from time to time. Sihanouk himself recently publicized it. But he has no way of preventing it.

Sihanouk is intensely annoyed because his efforts to keep Cambodian rice reasonably priced, so as to satisfy both the farmer and the consumer, are being thwarted by the big money that is offered for it, by the Vietcong and by Saigon, which has plenty of dollars to spend. The prince has forbidden such sales, but of course they go on and he can't stop them. No doubt there are other sales as well, such as sales of arms. The Cambodian military has been accused of ordering from abroad far more arms than it itself can use, and selling off the surplus in Vietnam. The traffic, if it exists, has been exaggerated. It is said that huge arms shipments pass through Sihanoukville, the Cambodian port. Last year, Sihanoukville moved about 750,000 tons of cargo. That was 200,000 tons more than the year before, a very considerable increase. But the total is still not much. The equivalent figure for Singapore, in 1968, was more than 30-million tons.

Plain folk in Cambodia have benefited enormously from Prince Sihanouk's benevolent rule, and not only by his success, so far, in keeping them at peace, though that is an inestimable boon considering the present state of both Vietnam and Laos. The Prince has managed to enlist his country's Buddhist clergy in the task of exhorting the people to furnish voluntary labor for building roads, dams, schools and hospitals. Like King Bhumipol of Thailand, Sihanouk takes the greatest care to stay in step with the youth of his country. He exercises his powers in close consultation with the university students, who are organized in an Assembly of Youth.

These powers of the prince are considerable, but he had them granted to him by popular vote (only 10 percent voted No). Cambodia has both a parliament and a cabinet, but the matters with which they can deal are restricted. There are no political parties. (Sihanouk calls them "a luxury we are unable to afford at the present stage in our national development.") However, the press is said to be free to criticize the administration, and, says Sihanouk, "does not invariably adopt an indulgent approach." The National Assembly, in spite of its and their limited powers, sometimes lays into the cabinet. Sihanouk's system is almost impossible to define; it certainly isn't democracy, as Westerners interpret the term. But then, says Sihanouk, the Western form of democracy, French-style, "was tried out here between 1947 and 1954, and reduced Cambodia to an indescribable state of anarchy."

The kingdom of Laos also practices neutrality, but much less successfully, perhaps because the United States sought so hard for so long to subvert the present neutral prime minister, Souvanna Phouma, and to install in his place a militant anti-Communist general (now living in exile in Bangkok, and ignored by everyone, including the Americans). Most of the country is in the lawless hands of Communist guerrillas, North Vietnamese troops, or corrupt Laotian generals who behave like old-style Chinese warlords. The writ of Souvanna Phouma's government does not run far from the capital, Vientiane. The Communists probably could capture Vientiane tomorrow, but prefer to use the "neutral" country as a corridor for supplies from North to South Vietnam. The mass of the people are sick of both sides and of the continuous, inconclusive fighting. Souvanna Phouma would like to see a coalition government in South Vietnam, with the Vietcong in it, for he thinks this would lead to a resumed coalition government in Laos. The Communists in Laos are led by his half-brother (who is also a prince). The Communists quit the coalition years ago, in protest over American bombing of guerrilla supply lines through Laos. If the Vietnam war ended in a coalition government in Saigon, perhaps the 40,000 North Vietnamese troops said to be in Laos would go home.

Most Southeast Asians suspect that coalition government in Saigon would be merely a face-saving formula for the United States, disguising a Communist takeover just about long enough to enable the Americans to get out of Vietnam without too enormous loss of prestige. But they see no better alternative. President Johnson's decision not to face the American electorate again, and the *Pueblo* snafu, convinced them that the US is already on its way out of South Vietnam, and also out of Asia in its role of "policeman." The Southeast Asians expect that sooner or later there will appear in South Vietnam a "popular front" that will be led by someone like Tran Van Don, a former general, or "Big" Minh, another general. Then, all the people who have secretly been either neutralist or pro-Communist, people in the South Vietnam bureaucracy, the pagodas, the labor unions and so forth, will take courage and declare their true feelings. After that, Southeast Asians say, it will be fairly easy to arrange an end of the war, for the more prominent members of the "popular front" are sure to be "top people" who are related, either by blood or marriage, to the "top people" in North Vietnam. It really

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is a Vietnamese civil war, after all. This fact, that the war is a family quarrel, may not prevent a good deal of bloodletting after the event; Southeast Asians are already preparing to wax indignant if the United States fails to offer sanctuary to those on the American (and losing) side who will be in danger of liquidation. Nevertheless, a "popular front" can, it is believed, end the war, and nothing else will. After that, a reunified Communist Vietnam seems likely. For how can the non-Communists in the South hold out against the Communists? The latter know what they want; the former are fragmented into about 80 factions.

When the war is over, what will the US do? The Thais won't mind if a much reduced American force stays on in Thailand at least for a while, to see what's what. But nothing like 50,000 troops. Most Southeast Asians hope the Americans will continue economic aid, for example by going on with Mekong River development. The Mekong is 2,500 miles long, and 1,500 miles of it flows through Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. Dams and irrigation works could make the area one of the great granaries of the world, Eugene Black once said. In December last year, King Bhumipol of Thailand took part with the King of Laos in a ceremony that marked the commencement of work on a $30-million Nam Ngun dam on the Mekong. However, guerrillas in Laos in March attacked Japanese who are building the United Nations' Nam Ngun Dam, 40 miles northwest of Vientiane. No development progress will be possible until the fighting stops.

Minimum Feasible Misunderstanding — I

America and France

by Stanley Hoffmann

The French in general, and the General in particular, like tripartite divisions. Maybe textbooks of the future will divide the history of Franco-American relations in the de Gaulle era into three parts. First, while de Gaulle was engaged on the domestic front, trying to extricate France from Algeria and to destroy the hopes of his internal adversaries who expected him to fade away immediately after the Algerian war, his relations with the United States remained friendly. Despite serious clashes that revealed underlying conflicts of vision and policies – for instance over the famous memorandum of de Gaulle in September 1958, suggesting a Western three-power directorate, and later over the handling of the Berlin and Congo crises, or over the philosophy of European integration – the General chose not to maximize these divergences.

A second phase began immediately after his smashing victory at the elections of November, 1962. It lasted until last spring. French foreign policy could now be characterized as global revisionism, aimed at reasserting French independence and leadership, in decline since the early 30's, at reversing the consequences of World War II, and especially at weakening the position of the superpower in whose camp France still was, and which was therefore most vulnerable to French blows: the United States. The French leader and the two American Democratic Presidents battled over pretty much everything. The American *vision* of a world dominated by the superpowers, in which lesser states

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ought to play the roles written for them into the script by the Big Two (and where indeed the other big power, if it knew what was good for it, would also have to take America's sound advice), clashed with de Gaulle's notion of a world gradually emancipated from the double and deadly fear of superpower collision or collusion. The American dream of a future "pragmatic" world order in which state sovereignty would be devalued in favor of various trans- and international agencies (likely to be controlled by Americans) clashed with de Gaulle's determination to practice traditional balance-of-power, cabinet diplomacy and to follow no other guideline than his conception of the French national interest. Each side attacked the other's *intentions:* de Gaulle was resented, in the American press and in the State Department, as a petty, vindictive and megalomaniac destroyer; the Americans were resented in France as behaving like every past power-greedy imperialist nation. De Gaulle's imperious, brutal and haughty poker game clashed with the *style* of American diplomacy, so much more bureaucratic and short-range. As for the *issues,* the two nations collided over the military organization of the Atlantic Alliance, the scope and methods of European unity, the control of nuclear weapons, strategic arms control negotiations, policy in the Far East and Middle East, the international monetary system, American investments in Europe, American intervention in the Dominican Republic. Even when the two policies moved along parallel lines – in their approach to the German problem and, especially after President Johnson's speech on October 7, 1966, in their search for a détente in Europe – convergence meant competition rather than cooperation.

A third phase began last spring. During the crisis that rocked France in May 1968, American officials discovered that much as they disliked de Gaulle, they disliked the prospect of chaos in France even more. De Gaulle's ability to pursue his grand, long-term design had been impaired, not just by striking external setbacks such as the Czech invasion (which proved that nationalism was no more irreversible in Eastern Europe than he had proved supra-nationalism to be in Western Europe), but by the coincidence of this setback with his domestic troubles. At the same time, signs of a revision of American foreign policy appeared here. The warm exchange of cables between de Gaulle and Johnson, after the monetary crisis of last November, signalled the beginning of a rapprochement. President Nixon's visit to Paris indicated that it had become one of the new Administration's main objectives, and de Gaulle's almost effusive response showed that he sought it also. It is therefore necessary to examine how far this rapprochement could go; after years of black delusions about de Gaulle's relentless hostility, we should avoid illusions about this renewed friendship. Chancellor Kiesinger too came to power with the hope of restoring Franco-German solidarity after the years of bickering between de Gaulle and Erhard – and yet Franco-German relations are once more strained.

Franco-American difficulties of recent years belong in three categories. There were procedural differences, which can be attenuated. There were incompatibilities due to the general stance, or conception, held by each of the two diplomacies; these can be alleviated. And there were specific clashes of policy, which will prove more difficult to resolve.

The procedural problem is simple: neither the Democratic Administrations nor the General showed great talent for, or willingness to, consult others before announcing their decisions. American officials were always caught by surprise by de Gaulle's Olympian pronouncements – his recognition of Red China, or his various condemnations of the Vietnam war, or his two vetoes of Britain's application to the Common Market, or his withdrawal from NATO, or his embargoes against Israel. American failure to consult the European allies has infuriated not only the French but also the West Germans, for instance throughout the early, decisive part of the long story of the nonproliferation treaty. Precisely because America sees itself as the leader of a worldwide coalition, unilateral moves, even (or especially) when they are justified by the notion of America's unique "sense of world responsibility," are most likely to antagonize those whose fates are thus being sealed without their participation. President Nixon, whose National Security Assistant, Mr. Kissinger, had incisively criticized the highhandedness and arrogance of past Administrations, promised during his European visit to be permanently more concerned with the susceptibilities of America's allies.

Insofar as Franco-American relations are concerned, consultation of the French government by Mr. Nixon on matters of common interest raises important questions. One, will it prove feasible? Among America's allies, France under de Gaulle is the only one that (like England) claims to be a world power with universal interests (however limited its actual resources or commitments), and also (unlike England) insists on taking positions independent of America's. To consult France on everything could easily prove to be a major burden for the American side, and an embarrassment for both. When the French recognized Red China without consulting the West Germans, they explained that they knew that Bonn could not approve or follow suit, and preferred not to embarrass the Germans by asking for advice that would be disregarded. Should de Gaulle, for his part, remain faithful to his own style – great powers decide rather than bargain, inform rather than consult – American willingness to consult *him* will once again decline. Two, consultation is no panacea; while it is infinitely better for friends

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or adversaries to be in touch and to enlighten each other about their goals, the medium, by itself, does not turn its users into friends if the messages they exchange remain divergent or hostile. Even if the new Administration shows itself doggedly determined to seek de Gaulle's opinions on every major subject, a genuine rapprochement will follow only if the overall conceptions and the specific policies of the two governments get closer.

There is no doubt that the approaches are getting less far apart. Both governments find their ability to give to foreign affairs a priority of attention and resources challenged by domestic turbulence. This is a time for internal fence-mending and reform in both countries. De Gaulle, obliged to slow down his nuclear program and to wage battle with almost every important social group in order to save the franc, may not have abandoned his vision of a world in which the nuclear superiority of the Big Two will not be overwhelming, international transactions will be measured in gold rather than in dollars, and the Third World will be open to Western influences other than America's. But for the time being, he cannot do much about it. The United States, faced with the staggering costs of the arms race and having discovered the dollar's solidarity with the franc as well as the pound, will undertake arms-control negotiations with the Soviets anyhow (the first arms talks that entail limitations by the superpowers alone), and is losing its enthusiasm for the Bretton Woods system of international monetary order, which has many virtues except the one we rate highest: it does not work well any more.

External failures too are contributing to this change of stance. The Vietnam disaster, the prolonged disarray of the Atlantic alliance have led to an agonizing reappraisal here. Czechoslovakia has had an enormous impact for France, and an embarrassing one here. The heart of de Gaulle's revisionism, the justification of his policy of French "free hands," the vision he called upon to vindicate his opposition to integration among the Six, to Britain's entry into the Common Market, and to Atlantic orthodoxy, was the notion of a gradual reunification of Europe, which required no less than a) a reassertion of national autonomy in Eastern (as well as Western) Europe; b) a Soviet willingness to replace the partition of Europe and the Soviet Empire in its Eastern half with a reunited continent (including eventually a somewhat reunited Germany) in which Russia would play a classical balance-of-power role; c) an American willingness to envisage, as part of this process, a withdrawal of American forces from Europe, so as to allow for a parallel withdrawal of Soviet forces and for the ultimate dissolution of the two rival military blocs; d) in the meantime, the emergence in West Europe of a cooperating group of states agreed on this direction and policy. Czechoslovakia showed that – to put it mildly – the moment was not ripe. As a result, the Gaullist notion that had so deeply annoyed American policy-makers, of a European settlement negotiated primarily among Europeans – which was, a bit excessively, interpreted here as an effort to exclude America from such a settlement – has obviously no meaning at present. De Gaulle's new warmth toward America is his way of marking his displeasure with Soviet behavior – an indirect way, since, for reasons to be discussed below, he refuses to give up his Eastern policy altogether. Again, France's new, relatively "low posture" certainly does not correspond to any drastic change in de Gaulle's ultimate vision or conception of international affairs; but a revision of the time perspective suffices to make a partial rapprochement with the United States possible.

On the American side, the revision goes much farther. Here, a new approach comes from a new conception. The notion (so prevalent in the days when Walt W. Rostow or Zbigniew Brzezinski spoke of America's paramount power) of a world led by American wisdom and experience, buttressed by American military and economic might, shaped by American principles, is being discarded. Insofar as Czechoslovakia meant not only a defeat for de Gaulle's vision of *l'Europe d'un bout à l'autre,"* but also a Soviet rejection of America's "bridge-building" policy, our pretense at turning NATO into an American-led instrument of détente had become as questionable as our pretense at shaping Asia's future through our involvement in Vietnam. The Nixon Administration is moving toward a conception of American interests much closer to de Gaulle's view: that of a world in which the superpowers' special responsibilities do not obliterate the concerns of other parties, in which it is neither possible nor wise for a great power to expect conformity and docility from its friends, in which a system of order capable of moderating conflicts will become possible only if great-power interventions are curtailed, regional balances of power are established and middle powers are given greater responsibilities. Insofar as de Gaulle's great objective was, and remains, a world in which all issues will not be absorbed into the superpowers' maelstrom, where lesser states will not be trampled either by the superpowers' duel or by the superpowers' duopoly, and where middle powers like France will again play a role even beyond their part of the globe, a rapprochement becomes possible. If what is new in the French approach is a forced, tactical self-restraint on behalf of the old Gaullist vision, what is new here is a vision – partly voluntary, partly dictated by recent frustrations – of self-restraint and equilibrium as the interest of America.

America's willingness to negotiate in Paris its extrication out of Vietnam created a first opportunity for this rapprochement. Should we prove inept at making the necessary concessions, or believe that renewed

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military escalation would improve our bargaining position, there would again be a strain in Franco-American relations; for the Gaullist vision of Southeast Asia remains one of neutralization, which would reassure China about America's designs, and remove the area from the great power contest, while America's overall nuclear superiority would presumably preserve the area from overt Chinese attack.

A second, precarious arena for the rapprochement, is the Middle East. Here, de Gaulle's abrupt stands since May 1967 can be almost entirely explained by his concern for regional (and overall) equilibrium, which he thought disrupted by Israel (and therefore in America's favor), and by his conviction that any explosion can only lead to one of his two nightmares, or perhaps to both: a confrontation between the superpowers, each one supporting his clientele, in a region that could play the same role as the Balkans in 1914 – i.e. drag all other countries into the abyss – or else a new Yalta, in which the two powers would, by themselves, settle the fate of the Middle East and perpetuate their predominance there. In this perspective, to leave the settlement in the hands of the local parties is obviously absurd. For the parties, left to themselves, escalate their contest and their arms races, try to implicate their respective Big Brothers, but do not negotiate. The only acceptable procedure is a Big-Four negotiation, aimed both at putting pressure on the parties and at establishing the kind of Middle Eastern order that will lead to a decrease of the Big Two's influence and presence. Insofar as there are convergent American and Soviet fears of a military confrontation, the new attitude of the Nixon Administration, which worries Israel, gives General de Gaulle an opportunity to introduce himself into the process.

Is this moving together of approaches likely to go far and to last long? Two kinds of *caveats* are necessary. On the one hand, even in its new approach, what the United States looks for (instead of dependents or clients) is partners – states that will be free to pursue their own policies, yet will be expected to cooperate with the United States so as to keep divergences minimal or edgeless. But de Gaulle, for reasons of personality as well as because of his conception of France's role, is likely to stress above all France's independence. He has always preferred maneuver to persuasion, strategy to diplomacy. His way of convincing the West Germans of his importance to them, when he deemed them too close to the Americans, was to push them closer into the Americans' arms (which, he was rightly convinced, both sides would find painful) and also to push for a Soviet-French rapprochement. His way of convincing Israel to take the UN resolution of November 22, 1967 seriously was to impose a unilateral embargo on military sales to Israel. When one "partner's" way of acting is to create or exploit the conditions that will force others to go his way, which he deems the only right one, there are built-in limits to any rapprochement. Indeed, the very notion of independence held by de Gaulle – i.e. the preservation of a distinct French personality and policy – prevents rapprochement from ever veering into alignment. This is in accordance with his exacting and intricate balance-of-power approach which precludes permanent alignments or commitments, something we do not ordinarily understand, or like even less when we understand it.

Consulting middle powers is one thing; building them up is another, especially when it will look to some as rewarding bad behavior (in France's case). Thus, in the Middle East, there will undoubtedly be voices to suggest that while a settlement is needed, it should be based on a superpower deal – after all, only the Soviets and the Americans "matter," militarily and economically; this is precisely the kind of approach de Gaulle dreads. Similarly, in Europe, our past commitments to NATO and to the idea of a Common Market extended to Britain, conflict with our new approach, which asserts that the specific form West European unity ought to take is not a vital American interest and must be left to the Europeans. For it is only if our change of stance leads to specific policy changes that rapprochement is likely to be serious.

When we turn to the realm of clashes of interest, we focus, of course, on Europe. For here is the core of French policy. To be sure, we do not see eye to eye about Quebec or Biafra; but there are merits in the French case on both issues, and neither is central to Franco-American relations. After all, de Gaulle is a man who, while trying to increase French diplomatic, cultural and (to some extent) economic influence all over the world, has patiently dismantled most of France's external commitments so as to concentrate on rebuilding her own strength and reasserting her role in Europe. Here, we have to look separately at two ranges of issues: those that involve only France and the US, those that involve the two nations' relations to the rest of Europe. Little can happen in the first area, unless there is a drastic change in the second.

The first area consists of military problems. Gaullist military policy has aimed at reversing the post-war trend, which made of France an "integrated" member of the Atlantic Alliance, while the "Anglo-Saxon" powers were keeping their strategic nuclear forces, in effect, under national command. De Gaulle first focused on the creation of his own national deterrent, then took France out of NATO, and thus turned the NATO treaty into a classical alliance between France and the fifteen NATO nations. One thing is clear: neither de Gaulle nor any likely successor government will either bring France back into NATO or abandon the *force de frappe* (abandonment being different from a slowing down or from the "europeanization" some French leaders have advocated). A Franco-American

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rapprochement here requires: a) military cooperation on eventual joint action between French forces in Germany and France, and NATO forces in Western Europe, and also between France's and America's strategic nuclear forces; b) American willingness to provide military assistance to France's nuclear program within the limits of the MacMahon Act (such assistance has, of course, been given to Britain for many years).

It is obvious that these issues soon turn out to be more than bilateral. Mere cooperation at the operational level between the French army and the NATO armies in Europe would not be enough for de Gaulle. One of his reasons for leaving NATO was his annoyance at being merely associated to the execution of a strategy decided higher up – in Washington, despite the facade of NATO councils (a view confirmed by the fact that NATO officially endorsed the strategy of flexible response, only after France's exit, but many years after it had become operative American doctrine). What he would presumably want – and what many French officers are known to want, in order not to feel irrelevant to the planning of Europe's defense – is top level cooperation, between France's and America's military leaders *and* defense ministers. This is the kind of cooperation he had hinted at in his memorandum of September 1958; but America merely offered geographically or functionally limited cooperation through lower ranking officials. He rejected it then, and would reject it again. But can Washington meet his expectations without *ipso facto* exposing NATO as a fraud, or rewarding de Gaulle's exit from it? The present institutional set-up provides no solution.

As for nuclear cooperation, while it would not amount to helping nuclear diffusion, it would again appear to many as rewarding proliferation, and indeed as a bonus to a nuclear force that (by contrast with England's) is neither "assigned" to NATO in its strategic part, nor under SACEUR command in its tactical part, and whose existence as a national force complicates West European unification. With the West Germans already unhappy at the nonproliferation treaty, which consecrates their non-nuclear position, any obvious American aid to the French force could appear as adding insult to injury. Again, the present institutional framework makes Franco-American cooperation difficult; for once the United States has created a certain machinery (NATO on the conventional and tactical nuclear side, the Nassau agreement on the strategic nuclear side), and France has bolted it, as long as this machinery exists, cooperation really requires the drastic abandonment of its past policy by one or the other party. De Gaulle is not the one likely to give in; and we are not likely to change our stand very much, *unless* a new perspective, transcending Franco-American relations is introduced.

This is the first of two articles on a Franco-American rapprochement.

Winds of Change in the Senate

by John Finney

It now seems likely the Senate will approve deployment of the controversial ballistic missile defense system sometime this spring. But even if it does – and the vote is likely to be close – something significant and encouraging has nonetheless happened in that tradition-bound chamber. By expressing deep skepticism over the wisdom of deploying an ABM system and by challenging the dominance of the military establishment, a moderate coalition of Senators has initiated steps that may help in withdrawing the Senate as one of the more important stimulators of the arms race.

Unappreciated by members of the Senate is just how much they themselves have been prone to give shots in the arm to the nuclear arms race. Two incidents, little noticed at the time, illustrate this point. Furthermore, they demonstrate how the arms race often is as much a psychological interaction between political personalities as it is an abstract war game between superpowers.

In 1958 Senator Stuart Symington made a comment he could not have known at the time would influence domestic politics as well as set the stage for a multi-

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billion dollar spiraling of the arms race. The Senate Preparedness subcommittee had just concluded a closed-door hearing on Soviet missile developments. Senator Symington walking up to an admiral, observed that a "missile gap" appeared to be developing. The admiral concurred. With that, Senator Symington stepped out before the waiting microphones and proclaimed to one and all that the United States was confronted with a "missile gap." This would have been the end of the story except that listening quietly in the wings was Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, then the Majority Leader and chairman of the Preparedness subcommittee. Johnson beckoned an aide and commented: "Stu's got something."

Thus was born the "missile gap" issue that was to bite at the heels of the Eisenhower Administration and eventually help elect John F. Kennedy. The missile gap disappeared soon after the Kennedy Administration settled into office and had a chance to look dispassionately at intelligence estimates. But by that time, the self-generating momentum of the nuclear arms race was far beyond the control of any politician.

To redeem its campaign pledges, the Kennedy Administration in the 1961 budget, programmed a large increase in the number of our Minuteman ICBM's, as well as accelerated and expanded production of Polaris submarines. In the delayed-reaction fashion characteristic of the nuclear arms race, that decision has considerable relevance in the current debate over whether we need a missile defense system to safeguard the country from enemy attack.

The principal justification made by the Nixon Administration for a Sentinel system, is that we need some protection of our retaliatory, second-strike forces, against the ever-expanding force of Soviet ICBM's and missile submarines. The underlying premise in this justification is that by expanding its offensive force, the Soviet Union has taken a giant step in the arms race that somehow threatens to upset the nuclear balance. To listen to Defense Secretary Laird, it would seem the Soviet Union has made a deliberate decision to achieve a first-strike capability. By the time Laird finishes telling his grim story of where the Soviet Union will be in 1975, one somehow has the feeling of having heard it all before – back in 1958-1960 when the missile gap was created out of foreboding but unfounded projections of Soviet intentions and capabilities.

But is this Soviet buildup a new initiative on the part of the Soviet Union, or is it just a delayed reaction to something we did back in 1961 as a reaction to the mythical missile gap? More likely it is the latter, as Marshall D. Shulman, director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University, argued recently before the Senate Disarmament subcommittee. In the "spiral of interaction" between the two countries, he noted, there is often a time lag, during which "ideas are diffused and sink in and get translated into action by cumbersome bureaucratic processes, with the result that we have often not recognized a reaction for what it is, but have taken it as a new initiative, reflecting a change in intentions." For example, he said, it appears "probable that the increased rate of intercontinental missile deployment by the Soviet Union of which we became aware a few years ago, may reflect a decision taken in response to the steep rate of increase in our missile program foreshadowed in the 1961 US budget, which was in turn a response to our estimate of what the Soviet missile program of 1958 might have projected."

Another footnote illustrating this delayed action-reaction phenomenon, was supplied by Herbert F. York, the former director of Defense Research and Engineering. In 1960-61, he noted, the Defense Department began "hearing" that the Soviet Union might deploy a missile defense system around Leningrad or Moscow and decided to compensate for this still speculative Soviet development by developing multiple warheads for our offensive missiles. Now that the Soviet Union has deployed a limited, still incomplete Galosh ABM system around Moscow, this is being offered as one of the reasons why the United States must deploy an ABM system. Overlooked in this argumentation is the fact that the United States has already reacted once to the Galosh system and that by starting down the road to multiple warheads it has stimulated a corresponding move by the Soviet Union to develop multiple warheads, thus perhaps making any strategic arms control agreement impossible to achieve because unilateral inspection by reconnaissance satellites no longer will be practical.

The second incident involves a thin, six-page report issued by the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee in August, 1967. The report warned that Communist China was making unexpectedly rapid progress in developing a nuclear arsenal, and could have an operational ICBM force by the early 1970's. That warning proved to be overly dire. Communist China has yet to test fire an ICBM. But the political significance of the warning was not lost on President Johnson, any more than had been the Symington comment nearly a decade earlier. President Johnson foresaw the Republicans turning the tables by accusing a Democratic Administration of permitting an "ABM gap" to develop. A month later he ordered an obviously reluctant McNamara to proceed with Sentinel deployment, using the Chinese threat as the justification.

More than any other group, the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, operating from a power base in the attic of the Capitol, can claim credit for the Sentinel deployment. In the latest Nixon go-round, the Chinese rationale has been submerged, but even here the Atomic Energy Committee played an influ-

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ential role. About a month ago the committee circulated among its members a memorandum from Harold Agnew, the chief weapons scientist at the Los Alamos Laboratory, suggesting that it did not make much sense to try to develop an "area defense" for the nation's population, even against the Chinese threat, and that what was needed was "terminal defense" for the nation's strategic bases and command-and-control centers. That, of course, is about where the Nixon Administration came out in its modification of the Sentinel system, although in its compromising manner it still proposed some protection against the Chinese threat.

The role played by the Joint Committee – first in the 1967 report and then in the secret Agnew memorandum – illustrates the momentum that can develop in Congress, even to the point that it carries away some of the committee members who had doubts about the Sentinel system. Needless to say, some vested interests help to perpetrate the momentum. For an Atomic Energy Commission which was running out of things to do, the Sentinel program promises a new lease on life. There will be thousands of warheads to fabricate, and that means business for the AEC laboratories and plants, many of which not too incidentally are located in the districts of Joint Committee members. Senator Albert Gore, a member of the Joint Committee, had this political fact of life impressed on him recently when he returned home to Tennessee, where he is fighting for political survival. Union leaders from the AEC's Oak Ridge National Laboratory promptly belabored him for leading the opposition to the Sentinel program as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Disarmament subcommittee. Their point was that the Sentinel program could save thousands of jobs at the Oak Ridge Laboratory, which would be one of the principal centers fabricating Sentinel warheads.

This is not to say that the Joint Committee is influenced by some venal self-interest. But it is influenced by the unchallenged political power that it has wielded for such a long time over nuclear strategy. It has gone unquestioned for so long that it is no longer questioning itself or tolerating questions from the outside. Rather than dealing in logic, committee members now tend to bowl over the opposition by demagogic incantations on the horrors of nuclear war – about which of course they have a special knowledge – and ominous warnings which they have heard in secret intelligence briefings about Soviet and Chinese developments.

If the Joint Committee is no longer a very alert "watchdog," neither is the Senate Armed Services Committee a very demanding Congressional overseer of the Defense Department. Last year, for example, the committee routinely accepted the presentation of Defense on behalf of the Sentinel system and didn't bother or think to call in an outside expert.

Nevertheless, what is encouraging and significant now is that a moderate coalition in the Senate at last is beginning to challenge the wisdom of this Joint Committee-Armed Services Committee alliance. It has been a fascinating palace revolution in which respected moderates and liberals have formed an alliance with the academic community. Imagine, if you can, John Sherman Cooper, the Kentucky-bred mountain lawyer, scowling at an issue of *Scientific American*, trying his best to understand the perplexities of radar "blackout" and penetration aids. Or some 25 Senators sitting down for a scientific symposium on the ABM issue, sponsored by Senator Philip Hart. A year ago, such Senatorial "cram courses" would have been unthinkable. Now they are the regular routine as the moderate coalition prepares for its battle with the military establishment over the Sentinel issue.

The result has been to throw the Congressional military establishment on the defensive, for the Sentinel opposition is raising questions that have never been considered, much less understood by the Armed Services Committee. Even if the Sentinel battle is lost, things will never be quite the same again in the Senate. In a still inchoate way, the academic community is being brought into the Senate's decision-making process. A new sophistication is entering the chamber's debate on military matters. No longer is the Senate so likely to be carried away by political catch phrases, such as "missile gap," or swayed by such time-honored cliches from the Armed Services Committee as: "if we must err, let's err on the side of security."

What is happening is that the grand old men of the military establishment – the Dick Russells and the John Stennises and all their Southern and conservative Republican adjutants – are being left behind in the tides of change and becoming isolated, lonely men in a chamber they once dominated. It used to be that they brought their military bills to the floor not so much for approval as for adulation. Now instead of adulation they are running into criticism and skepticism from a younger generation. This presents a poltical dilemma for the moderates, such as Scoop Jackson and John Pastore, who used to make company with the military establishment. So long as the money flowed freely, such moderates could vote billions for defense and then turn around and support domestic programs opposed by their military allies. Now they may be forced to make a choice in priorities between their military alliance and their moderate domestic positions.

Win, lose or draw on the Sentinel issue, it appears that at least within the Senate the long unquestioned momentum of the arms race is being arrested. That still leaves the bothersome question, however, of whether by political statement and dire reports in the past, the Senate has imparted such a momentum to that race that it can no longer be halted.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Salesman

Maysles Films

When Pontius Pilate asked "What is truth?", he didn't have to wait for an answer. It's tougher on us. The question persists – we ask it because we breathe – and we're no longer allowed to dismiss it as hopelessly ironic. Answers, attempts at answers, multiply; and nowhere more than in the film.

The use of the camera as purported truth-teller began when film began. From the start, films bifurcated into those propelled by imagination (Méliès) and those bent on showing us the world of fact that we have not really seen (Lumière). The former grew more directly out of previous art traditions, and their modes, at the beginning anyway, were not completely revolutionary. The latter were doing something that had never been done before – still photographs are almost a completely different genus – and nearly from the beginning there has been an evangelical quality to the men who made them. The motions of life around us, they insisted, would reveal truths about that life simply by being captured on film and projected on a screen. The belief has never faltered – one of the most remarkable examples is Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* made in the Soviet Union in 1928 – and it has surged in the last decade as technical improvements have made filming much more flexible; and also as faith in fictive art has been more severely questioned. Now it's called *cinéma-vérité* or direct cinema (Vertov called it Kino-Truth), but it is the same credo that it has always been.

Albert and David Maysles are brothers, film-makers devoted to the possible perception of truth through the close observation of fact. In the past 12 years they have spent a lot of time – Albert with shouldered camera, David with portable tape recorder – recording the behavior of various people, as spontaneous as they can get it, then editing the results into film structures. Their best-known works are *Showman*, about the producer Joseph E. Levine, *Marlon Brando*, in which the star turns TV-interviewing on its head, and *What's Happening?*, a report on the Beatles' first visit to the US. Now they have made their first feature for theatres, *Salesman*. For this they spent six weeks with a team of five door-to-door Bible salesmen, in New England and Florida, and then spent 15 months editing their footage into a record of several American phenomena, including a dying fall in the career of one of the salesmen.

There are three kinds of episodes in *Salesman:* calls on prospects, scenes in the motels to which the men return at the day's end, and the sales conference (in Chicago). Much of it is fascinating. How could it be otherwise? There isn't a person who passes in the street whose life we wouldn't spy on, at least for a time, if we had the chance. Intrusion into privacy is as human an urge as sex; and it's by no means only prurience or itch for scandal that drives us. Somehow some Great Answer may be hidden behind those window shades. If we only *knew* more about others, we could at least be sure that our insufficiencies aren't unique. A film that allows us to peek is bound to get our attention; and when, like *Salesman*, it also fixes irrefutably some facts about our whole society, it holds that attention longer than it might do otherwise.

Here we get the ugliness of the modern American landscape, what Peter Blake has called "God's Own Junkyard." We enter a number of homes, which seem to have neon-lighted Miracle Miles running right through the living room. (The Maysles brothers have opted to show us only poor homes, although these salesmen call on wealthier prospects, too.) The sales patter beats and repeats against our ears, the phony chumminess with prospects first repels, then numbs with compassion for both seller and sellee. That patter is – surprisingly – Catholic: surprisingly because one expects an American Bible salesman to be Protestant, not to say Baptist. It's only in the last 15 years or so that Bibles have been pushed into Catholic homes, so this is the closing of a social time-gap.

At night we see the salesmen in their motel rooms, relaxing but not too much. Their straw boss is usually present, and anyway in front of one another, there are jocular guards to be kept up – no gloating about a good day, no moaning about a poor one. The sales conference in Chicago is, as is the nature of sales conferences, self-satirical.

The picture continues interesting for a good deal of its hour and a half. When it begins to seem repetitious, we forgive it at first because these lives are more incessantly repetitious than most. But this is not life, this is a film; we are not co-workers, we are an audience. Kenneth Burke says, "There is in reality no such general thing as a crescendo." The Maysles brothers are aware of this; so, out of their material, they have quarried the particular story of one of the salesmen, Paul Brennan, and, using the models of fictional narrative, they have tried to give it dramatic structure. But life has not cooperated sufficiently. As drama, the figurative death of this salesman lacks the dimension that it needs to be completely engrossing. There is material missing – of character and conflict and variation – that a good scriptwriter could have supplied; and what we are left with is the consolation that there *was* no scriptwriter, that what we see is real and spontaneous and unacted.

Almost completely. In a few scenes it seems that voices from other shots – of these men – have been laid on the soundtrack. And there are indications of the camera's presence in other scenes. For instance, when Brennan comes back after his first bad day, he uses some profanity (the only time in the film). It has an air of bravado, unnatural for him, as if he knew he were being watched and would not be cowed. Some of the other men glance at the camera occasionally. In his car Brennan plays directly to it in the seat next to him. Heisenberg's law has to be trotted out yet again: the fact of observation in itself alters the phenomenon that is observed. The really surprising point is that there are moments – always solitary, always silent – when Brennan seems completely to have forgotten the camera and simply broods. For me, these were the best moments, not only most revealing of him but most supportive of this filming method.

Also – and perhaps this, too, is because the material is given, not made – the film's viewpoint is unclear. Does it mock the commercialization of reli-

(Continued on page 32)

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Harold Bloom: Christianity and Art

Secondary Worlds
by W. H. Auden
(Random House; $4.95)

Auden's Poetry
by Justin Replogle
(University of Washington Press; $6.95)

Quest for the Necessary: W. H. Auden
by Herbert Greenberg
(Harvard University Press; $5.95)

Attacking bad books is not only a waste of time but also bad for the character. – Auden

While an author is yet living we estimate his powers by his worst performance, and when he is dead we rate them by his best. – Johnson

Secondary Worlds is a bad book, and Auden's worst performance. These four lectures in memory of T. S. Eliot deal in turn with *Thomas Cranmer*, a pious verse drama by Charles Williams; Icelandic Sagas; the three opera libretti by Auden and Chester Kallman; and the relation between Christian belief and the writing of poetry. Since the title, *Secondary Worlds*, refers to works of art as against "the primary world of our everyday social experience," the rationale for printing these four talks as a book must be their relevance to what has long been Auden's overt polemic against the Romantic view of poetry. Coleridge's ill-chosen terms, Primary and Secondary Imagination, are here subverted by Auden's wit, since he uses Secondary, unlike Coleridge, to mean "inferior."

Of all Auden's writings, *Secondary Worlds* comes most directly out of the Neo-Christian matrix of modern Anglo-Catholic letters: Eliot, Williams, C. S. Lewis, Tolkien. There are no references to Dorothy Sayers, but Auden compensates with a quotation from *The Future of Belief* by Leslie Dewart, a book one might not otherwise know:

> The Christian God is not *both* transcendent and immanent. He is a reality other than being Who is present to being, by which presence He makes being to be.

"To believe this," Auden modestly says, "is to call into question the art of poetry and all the arts." In *The Dyer's Hand*, an admirable performance, Auden remarked that "the imagination is a natural human faculty and therefore retains the same character whatever a man believes." In his new book, the imagination of a humane man-of-letters and talented comic poet appears to be hardening, which would be a loss.

Johnson definitively stated the difficulties of devotional verse when he observed that the good and evil of Eternity were too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind sinks under them, and must be content with calm belief and humble adoration, attitudes admirable in themselves but perhaps not conducive to the writing of poems. One of Auden's many virtues is that, unlike Eliot and other literary Christians, he has for the most part spared us from devotional verse. *For the Time Being*, a work dear to many churchwardenly critics, is a long and unhappy exception; but even it, unlike much Eliot, does not offer us the disciplined humility of the poet as our esthetic experience.

It is of course one thing to deprecate the possibility of Christian poetry, or of poetry being Christian, and quite another to deprecate poetry itself. In Auden's criticism, and particularly in *Secondary Worlds*, the two are not always kept apart. When this happens, I find discussing it bad for my character. On a higher level the experience of reading Auden then becomes rather like reading Kilmer's *Trees*. "Poems are made by fools like me," yes, and by Dante, Milton, Blake and Homer, but only God makes primary worlds. Or, as Auden says:

> ". . . it is possible that artists may become both more modest and more self-assured, that they may develop both a sense of humor about their vocation and a respect for that most admirable of Roman deities, the god *Terminus*. No poet will then produce the kind of work which demands that a reader spend his whole life reading it and nothing else. The claim to be a 'genius' will become as strange as it would have seemed to the Middle Ages."

It is possible that other artists may become more like Auden, but likelier that other critics may become more like him. With Arnold and Eliot, he is a poet-critic who appeals greatly to critics, little as the splendor of becoming a "poet of professors" appeals to him. Books about Auden all tend to be fairly good, just as books about, say Wallace Stevens, tend to be quite bad. This is probably not because of a difference in the level of admiration, but because more genuinely difficult poets do not reduce to structures of ideas and images so readily as does Auden.

The two new books on Auden by

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Replogle and Greenberg are good; better alas than *Secondary Worlds*. Both critics usefully trace the pattern of ideas in all of Auden's poetry, Replogle emphasizing the dialectic in Auden's temperament between Poet and Antipoet, and Greenberg stressing the poet's persistent quest for the meaning of love. Greenberg implicitly rates Auden very high among modern poets and Replogle explicitly affirms that he may outlast Frost and Yeats. These judgments undoubtedly reflect the general esteem that Auden's poetry now maintains among academic critics.

Auden has been accepted as not only a great poet but also a Christian humanist sage, not because of any conspiracy among moralizing Neo-Christian academicians, but because the age requires such a figure. Eliot is gone, and Auden now occupies his place, though with a difference. The difference is refreshing; Auden is wittier, gentler, much less dogmatic, and does not feel compelled to demonstrate the authenticity of his Christian humanism by a judicious anti-Semitism. He has more wisdom and more humor than Eliot, and his talent is nowhere near so sparse, as the enormous range of his lyrics shows. I think it unfortunate that he should find himself in apostolic succession to Eliot, but *Secondary Worlds* seems to indicate that the succession is not unwelcome to him.

Much of *The Dyer's Hand*, despite its generosity as criticism, is darkened by Auden's obsessive doubts about the value of art in the context of Christianity. Similar doubts have maimed many writers, Tolstoi and Hopkins in particular. Insofar as Auden's uneasiness has prevented him from devotional poetry, he has gained by it; but unfortunately it has also resulted in a trivialization of his art. It may have aided his satire; and his songs are certainly the best in English in this century; but his reflective poetry suffers from the continual evanescence of the subject-matter. The staple of his poetry is neither song nor satire but rumination on the good life, and his notion of the relation between Christianity and art has troubled that rumination.

Auden, along with many others, suffers from Poetic Influence, a variety of melancholy or anxiety-principle that our studies have evaded. Poetic Influence, in this sense, has little to do with the transmission of ideas and images from an earlier poet to a later one. Rather, it concerns the poet's sense of his precursors, and of his own achievement in relation to theirs. Have they left him room enough, or has their priority cost him his art? More crucially, where did they go wrong, so as to make it possible for him to go right? In this revisionary sense, in which the poet creates his own precursors by necessarily misinterpreting them, Poetic Influence forms and malforms new poets, and aids their art at the cost of increasing, finally, their already acute sense of isolation. Auden, like Byron, gives the continual impression of personal sincerity in his poetry, but again like Byron this is the consequence of a revisionary swerve away from the sincerity of the precursor. In Byron's case the great precursor was Pope, with his highly dialectical sincerity; with Auden it is Hardy, and the son's sincerity is considerably more dialectical than the father's.

In his very fine *New Year Letter* (January 1, 1940, at the height of his poetic power), Auden wrote an important poem about Poetic Influence. His precursors are invoked there as a summary tribunal sitting in perpetual session:

Though
Considerate and mild and low

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The voices of the questioners,
Although they delegate to us
Both prosecution and defence,
Accept our rules of evidence
And pass no sentence but our own,
Yet, as he faces them alone,
O who can show convincing proof
That he is worthy of their love?

He names these fathers and judges: Dante, Blake, Rimbaud, Dryden, Catullus, Tennyson, Baudelaire, Hardy and Rilke, connecting this somewhat miscellaneous ninefold (except for Dryden, there for his mastery of the middle style) by their common sense of isolation, fit companions "to one unsocial English boy." Of all these, Auden's most characteristic poetry is closest to Hardy's; and like Hardy, Auden remains most convincing as a ruminator upon human incongruities, upon everything valuable that somehow will not fit together. Auden's best poems, such as the justly esteemed *In Praise of Limestone*, brood upon incongruities, swerving from Hardy's kind of poem into a more double-natured sense of ruinous circumstance and thwarted love. But where Hardy's strenuous unbelief led him to no worse redundancies than an occasional sharp striving after too palpable an irony, Auden's self-conscious belief and attendant doubt of poetry mar even *In Praise of Limestone* with the redundancy of uneasy and misplaced wit:

But if
Sins can be forgiven, if bodies rise
from the dead,
These modifications of matter
into
Innocent athletes and gesticulating
fountains,
Made solely for pleasure, make
a further point;
The blessed will not care what
angle they are regarded from,
Having nothing to hide.

The blessed, as Auden says so often in prose, need neither to read nor to write poems, and he also sadly notes, contemplating the verse of Charles Williams, that poems do not describe their sanctity with much success. Close thy Auden, open thy Stevens, and read:

If, then, when we speak of liberation, we mean an exodus; if when we speak of justification, we mean a kind of justice of which we had not known and on which we had

Julie Andrews' "son" had to wear rags to school.

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not counted; if when we experience a sense of purification, we can think of the establishing of a self, it is certain that the experience of the poet is of no less a degree than the experience of the mystic and we may be certain that in the case of poets, the peers of saints, those experiences are of no less a degree than the experiences of the saints themselves. It is a question of the nature of the experience. It is not a question of identifying or relating dissimilar figures; that is to say, it is not a question of making saints out of poets or poets out of saints.

Richard Freedman: The Yonghy-Bonghy-Bo

Edward Lear: The Life of a Wanderer by Vivien Noakes

(Houghton Mifflin; $8.95)

How pleasant to know Mr. Lear!
Who has written such volumes of stuff!
Some think him ill-tempered and queer,
But a few think him pleasant enough.

How pleasant indeed, except that the inspired creator of the Owl and the Pussycat, The Popple Who Has No Toes and the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bo was myopic, asthmatic, bronchitic, epileptic, syphilitic – and queer in more ways than he hints at in the above verse portrait.

Lear was one of The Great Victorian Hangups, every bit as tormented as Ruskin, Butler or John Addington Symonds; but like other Victorians he converted his manifold neuroses into prolific and enduring art, instead of just dumping them on the analyst's couch.

Like Dickens, he suffered the childhood trauma of being abandoned by his parents. Where Dickens, at 12, was relegated to the infamous blacking factory, Lear, the twentieth of 21 children, was remanded at the age of four to his older sister Ann to bring up. Neither Mrs. Noakes nor any earlier biographer knows precisely why this happened: apparently Lear's father suffered sudden financial reverses, may even have gone bankrupt and to jail, and whatever security the child knew was scattered.

At six he began suffering from what he called "the Demons" – a severe form of epilepsy involving some 20 seizures every month for the rest of his life. He guiltily thought they were aggravated by masturbation and could only be mitigated by constant, strenuous physical exercise. In true Victorian fashion, he somehow contrived to keep the attacks – like his suppressed homosexuality – a secret, even from intimate friends.

At seven he had his first attack of "the Morbids" – nervous breakdowns which also dogged him throughout his life. The asthma and bronchitis which ultimately killed him kept him from England during the winter months and forced his ceaseless, lonely wanderings about the Mediterranean world and as far as India, in search of health and "picturesque" scenes to paint. He made his tenuous living – from the age of 15 – as a landscape painter and water-colorist, not from the limericks and nonsense songs which have since made him immortal.

Although he began well, with a series of Audubonesque pictures of parrots, and served for a while as art instructor to Queen Victoria, he somehow missed the taste of his time, which was no longer for pure landscape, but for narrative painting. Lear could never cope with human figures, and thus had to churn out countless landscapes in order to set some money aside for the total blindness he knew was awaiting him in old age.

Like many other Victorians, Lear also

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suffered from a guilty conscience over doing "trivial" work which seemed to accord ill with The Higher Seriousness. Just as Lewis Carroll thought his greatness lay in his mathematical tomes, and Arthur Sullivan chafed when he wasn't composing solemn oratories, Lear expended much futile effort on grandiose canvases which wouldn't sell. He also illustrated many of his friend Tennyson's poems and set some to music, which he would sing in his high tenor voice, while idle tears coursed down his hirsute cheeks.

We are as wrong about the Victorians as they were about themselves, though, if we think that solemnity and sentimentality reigned exclusively. The period was perhaps the richest the world has known in *intentional* nonsense, and here Lear's only rival was Lewis Carroll. Like Carroll, Lear had a febrile, dynamic word sense, and in his voluminous letters as well as in his published nonsense he often anticipated the linguistic experiments of Joyce. "The grumpy roarygroanery of camels" in Egypt, the fear that he had "become like a sparry in the pilderpips and a pemmican on the housetops," point directly to *Finnegans Wake*.

The professional nonsense was written and inimitably illustrated for the children whom Lear loved as only a bachelor can love them (that is, until they made a noise), but equally fine are his letters to friends and diaries which are the source material for this book.

Mrs. Noakes provides the first full-dress biography of Lear since Angus Davidson's 1938 study, and her book, although indifferently written, is a model of scholarly industry and human tact. She spares us all glib, smirky psychologizing about a subject which would seem to cry for such treatment. Where she falls down is in criticism of the verse; there is almost none beyond the tentative suggestion that the toeless Pobble may have something to do with Lear's castration complex. She seems far more comfortable with Lear's graphic art, of which there are abundant examples in this sumptuously illustrated volume. This neglect is unfortunate, because although Lear's landscape water colors are finally receiving their just attention (only last year Philip Hofer published some of them in a handsome volume), they don't have the unique quality of his nonsense verse.

While the limericks have the distinc-

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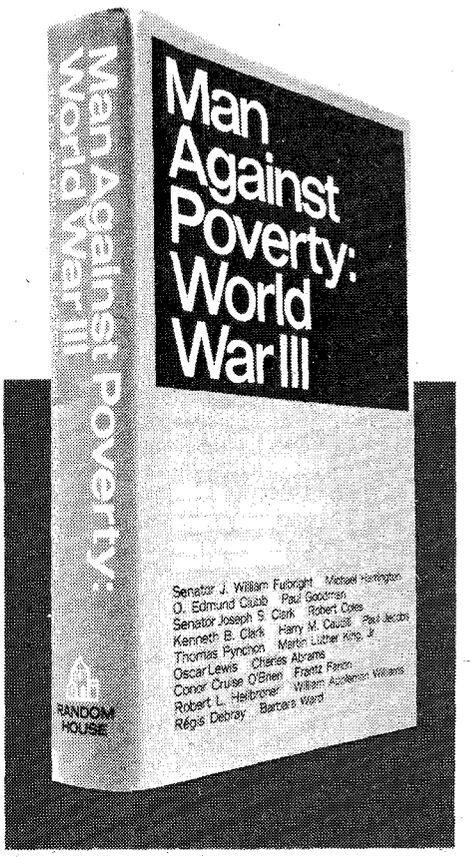

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tion of being the only ones in the language that are both clean and funny, they suffer, it seems to me, from Lear's habit of making the last line an almost word for word repetition of the first. This results, not in a dying fall, but in a dying thud. But utterly matchless is the haunting romantic suggestiveness of:

> On the Coast of Coromandel
> Where the early punpkins blow,
> In the middle of the woods
> Lived the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bo.

All Lear's verse stems from his essential childlikeness. Late in life he could wistfully boast:

> "When the 300 drawings are done, I shall sell them for L18,000: with which I shall buy a chocolate coloured carriage speckled with gold, and driven by a coachman in green vestments and silver spectacles – wherein, sitting on a lofty cushion composed of muffins and volumes of the Apochryfa I shall desport myself all about the London parks, to the general satisfaction of all pious people."

Looking like a cross between Socrates and Falstaff, accompanied on his wanderings only by his loyal but alcoholic servant, Giorgio Kokali, and by his beloved cat Foss, the latter-day Lear was stretched upon the rack of this tough world but never broke and never lost that pristine vision of a child's heaven. A heroic life which makes for moving reading.

Correspondence

Biafra Reply

May I comment on criticisms by professors Jean Mayer and Howard Kahane (March 22) of my earlier article on Biafra (March 1).

My article made no attempt to deny or dismiss the ghastly facts of Biafran starvation, which have been public knowledge for nearly a year. It's easy to take a moral stand against starvation: the question is how to deal with it. I support the courageous efforts of international relief agencies, but understand Nigerian hostility to them.

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Humanitarian assistance has political consequences here, including the bolstering of Biafran prestige and foreign exchange (relief organizations pay hard currency for food purchases within Biafra). Lagos regards unauthorized flights to Biafra as hostile acts and has increasingly interfered with them, to the point of bombing and strafing at the Uli airstrip. But Biafra must take considerable responsibility for the food situation: it has resisted several approaches from Lagos, including a plan for daylight flights to Uli last September. Biafra has apparently rejected the Nigerian offer to initiate a land relief route at the Obilagu airstrip under international inspection – an arrangement which might have quelled Nigerian worries about covert arms shipments and Biafran fears of poison. With a grave shortage of carbohydrates anticipated, it is hard to see how further starvation can be prevented unless food can be brought into Biafra by land.

I didn't "brush off" civilian bombings or deny their actuality; I just don't think real atrocities, of which there have been plenty on both sides, justify the Biafran campaign to convince its own people and the world that Nigeria is bent on genocide. Some of the war's most horrifying clashes have been between Ibos and Eastern minorities – "fellow Biafrans" as Ojukwu would call them. My informants about coercion of minorities included former university colleagues, minorities men themselves, whom I have known for years and trust. I doubt many refugees forced into Biafra would speak openly to visitors; even before secession opposition to Ojukwu was risky to voice. Prof. Mayer somehow twists my description of desolate Enugu into a description of Port Harcourt – where, in fact, minorities tribesmen have returned in large number. Yet Ojukwu still claims to speak for all 14 million inhabitants of the East, including the minorities who substantially oppose him.

Steven Jervis

Notes on Contributors

HAROLD BLOOM, *who teaches at Yale, is the author of* Yeats: A Study in Romanticism *and various books on Romantic poetry.* RICHARD FREEDMAN *teaches at Simmons College.*

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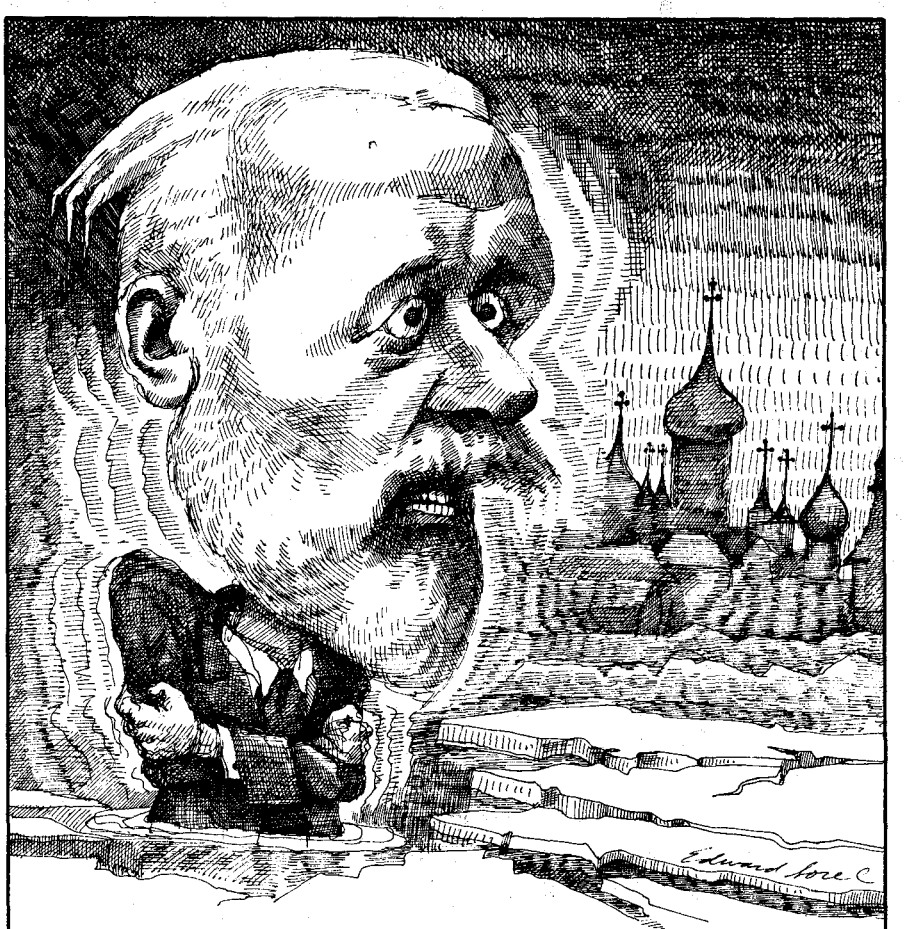

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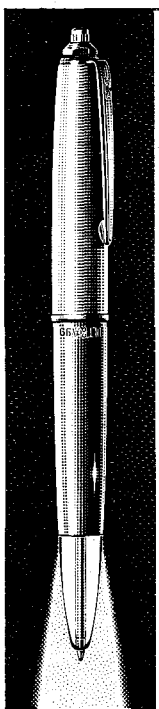

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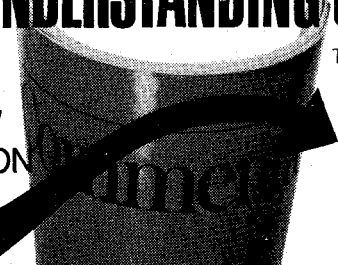

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Kauffmann, *from page 24*

gion? No. There are some particularly funny lines because of the goods they are selling (Salesman to customer: "Be sure to have the Bible blessed, or you won't get the benefit"), but the patterns would be virtually identical if they were selling encyclopedias or medical reference books. Is the film an indictment of sales as the absolutely central American profession? No, the Maysles brothers have picked scenes that show selling at its grittiest (in poor homes), but the picture's tone is almost as compassionate as mocking. Do they attack selling as corrosive of individuality? No, the picture tries (incompletely, I think) to show a lack of congruence between selling and one man's character. It's a chronicle of this man's failure, not his submersion in sales success. Brennan fails because, quite evidently, he has no histrionism, no con, which three of his fellows have; he has to pump away at it, lamely. Nor does he have the simpleton's sincerity that the fifth man has. *Salesman* is not a criticism of a vocation or the society that produced it. Insofar as it is focused, it's a portrait of a man in the wrong vocation. The others are making out, he is not. And not because, as far as we can see, he is in any way their superior. He is simply not up to this particular mark.

It is this fuzziness of viewpoint and the feeling of plateau that make us feel we are finished with the film before it is over. If "direct cinema" (the Maysles phrase) grabs us immediately with a reality that fiction takes time to manufacture, with the knowledge that we really are there, it has a harder time keeping us there. It lacks the resources that fiction can use to sustain *its* truth: emphasis, distortion, elision, variation, artifice. The most successful direct cinema is, usually, the film about an intrinsically dramatic subject: *Warrendale* (disturbed children), *The Queen* (a transvestite beauty contest), *A Face of War* (Vietnam combat). The daily grind is more difficult.

What is truth? A modern Pilate might say that it's not the monopoly of either fact or fiction film, that life is at least as much of a liar as art, and that if the life is being observed and recorded and rearranged, the line can get fuzzy. Direct cinema is going to play an increasing part in filmmaking because of its ease (not that it's easy to do well but it's easy to *do*)

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and because it seems like a blow at falseness. But there's one immediate paradox: direct cinema does not cut below facts to truth unless the techniques of fiction are applied. Another paradox: even though "eavesdropping" material is immediately gripping, very soon the content has to feed the basic phenomenon. The snooping into fact, in short, must reveal the content of art. In *Salesman* it does, and in considerable measure, but not enough.

Personals

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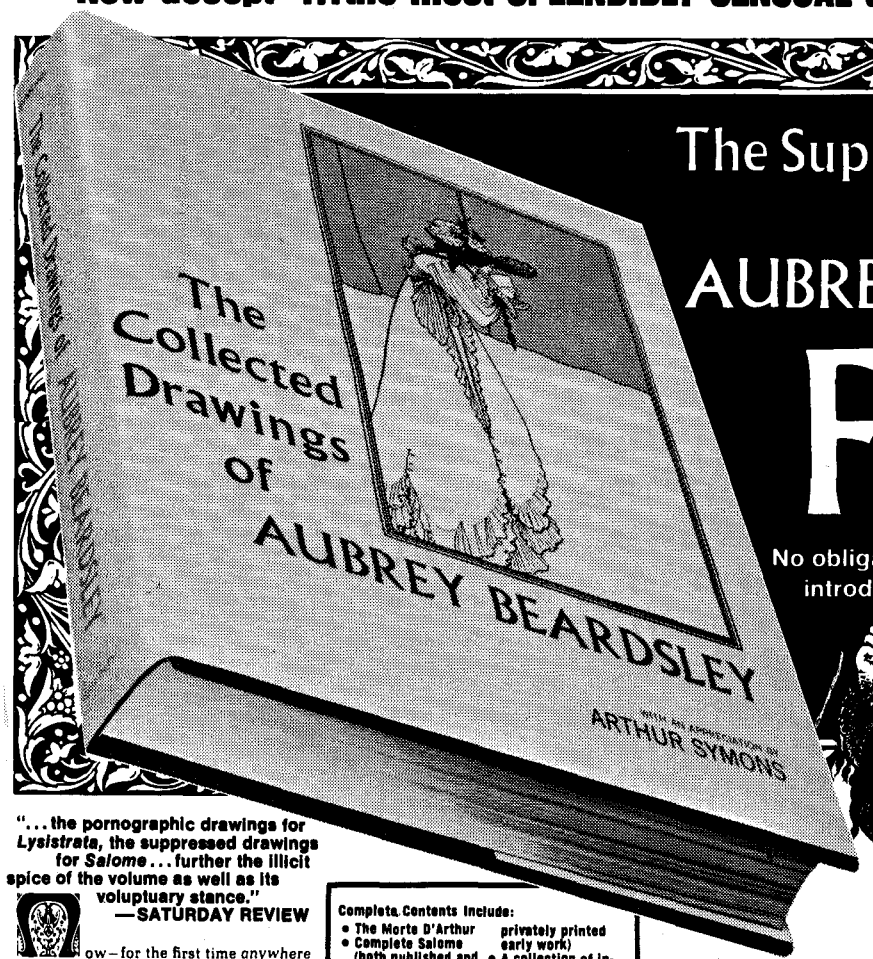

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